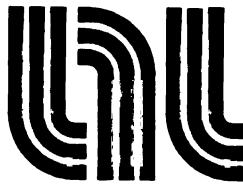

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**THE STORY
OF A
CHINESE OXFORD MOVEMENT**

THE STORY OF A CHINESE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

BY
KU HUNG MING.

SECOND EDITION

WITH

Letter from Chinese official to German Pastor

AND

APPENDICES.



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“My English friends asked whether there were any Americans?—any with an American idea,—any theory of the right future of that country? Thus challenged, I bethought myself neither of caucuses nor congress, neither of presidents nor of cabinet-ministers, nor of such as would make of America another Europe. I thought only of the simplest and purest minds. I said, ‘Certainly yes.’ So I opened the dogma of no-government and non-resistance. I said, it is true that I have never seen in any country a man of sufficient valour to stand for this truth. I can easily see the bankruptcy of the vulgar musket-worship,—though great men be musket-worshippers;—and ’tis certain, as God liveth, the gun that does not need another gun, the law of love and justice alone, can effect a clean revolution.”—EMERSON.

INTRODUCTION TO SECOND EDITION.

So great has been the demand for the first edition of Mr. Ku Hung-ming's book, "The Story of a Chinese Oxford Movement," that a second edition has been found necessary. Whilst the book remains essentially as it at first appeared, Appendices, being a letter written to the "North China Daily News" and a Review of Princess Der Ling's book, "Two Years in the Forbidden City," likewise a letter to a German Pastor from a well-known Chinese scholar, entitled "Jacobin China," have been incorporated, it is hoped these will be found of additional interest.

THE PUBLISHERS.

APRIL, 1912.

PREFACE.

I WAS one day discussing with some foreigners the comparative morality of Chinese and Europeans living in Shanghai. "That," said an Englishman, "depends altogether upon the point of view." Now this "point of view" philosophy of this Englishman is what Matthew Arnold calls a peculiarly British form of Atheism. Matthew Arnold says: "A kind of philosophical theory is widely spread among us to the effect that there is no such thing as a best self or right reason having claim to paramount authority or, at any rate, no such ascertainable and capable of being made use of." Matthew Arnold goes on to quote from an article in the London "Times" which says: "It is no use for us to attempt to force upon our neighbours our several likings and dislikings. We must take things as they are. Everybody has *his own little vision* of religious or civil perfection."

Now what makes it so hopeless for any one to attempt to help Englishmen to understand the true state of things in China, is that not only

has every Englishman his own little vision or point of view, but he does not believe that there is such a thing as a right and a wrong point of view. One Englishman, a valued acquaintance of mine, who is one of the most level-headed business men in Shanghai, once did me the honour of dining in my house, and when I showed him a specimen rubbing of hand-writing of one of the greatest caligraphists we have had in China, this Englishman said he was sure his comradore wrote a much finer hand; at least the lines were more regular. That was his own little vision or point of view. Another Englishman, a public school man too, who moved in the first circles in Shanghai, speaking of poetry, said to me that he admired Lord Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome" immensely. When I showed him what Matthew Arnold said of those Lays, "that a man's power to detect the ring of false metal in those Lays was a good measure of his fitness to give an opinion about poetical matters at all and that those lines of Lord Macaulay

To all the men upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late

it was hard to read without a cry of pain,"—this public school Englishman said to me that was only Matthew Arnold's opinion or point of view; he, for his part, thought those lines of Macaulay splendid. Thus every Englishman, as the London "Times" says, has his own little

vision, his point of view of what is excellent, what is perfection in poetry, art, religion, politics and civilization.

There is, of course no very great harm, although harm there is, for an Englishman to have his own little vision or point of view on such things as Chinese work of art or English poetry. But when Englishmen such as Dr. Morrison and J. O. P. Bland, correspondents of the London "Times" in China, who are as fit to give an opinion on the character of the late Empress-Dowager or the politics and civilization in China as my level-headed English friend above mentioned is to give his on a Chinese work of art; when such men send their "point of view" description of the state of things in China to the London "Times" and the British Government bases its policy and takes action on such "points of view" published in the "Times," can any one wonder that we have had such tragic muddle as the late Boxer outbreak and the siege of the Legations in Peking or the still more tragic scientific butchery called war for the cause of civilization between Russia and Japan in Manchuria?

But is there no absolute standard of right and wrong, no ascertainable authority of right reason to decide what is excellent and what is not excellent in art and poetry, in religious and civil

institutions, and lastly in civilization? As regards morals or religion and civilization, the Christian Missionaries will say, "Yes there is a standard and that standard is the standard of Christianity." But then, in such a case, the Confucian literati in China will say, "Why, if you Christian Missionaries set up your Christian standard, we Chinese will set up our Confucian standard." The younger brother of the famous poet Sung Tung-po of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1039-1112) tells the story of a country bumpkin coming for the first time into the city who, when he saw a mare, said it was a cow. When the people in the city told him that he was wrong and that the animal before him was called a mare and not a cow, the country bumpkin turned round and said, "My father has said it is a cow, how dare you tell me it is not a cow." Therefore when the Christian Missionaries tell the Chinese literati that the Christian standard in morality or religion and civilization is the absolute standard or when the Chinese literati tell the Christian Missionaries that the Confucian standard is the absolute standard, they, the Christian Missionaries as well as the Chinese literati, are really acting like the country bumpkin in the above story of the Chinese poet.

I have in the course of this present essay said that "our Chinese literati were as helpless before

the destructive forces of the modern materialistic civilization of Europe as the middle class in England were before the ideas and doctrines of the French Revolution." I said further : "To deal effectively with the destructive forces of modern European civilization required *expansion* on the part of the Chinese literati." Now what I mean by *expansion* is to know that the collection of theories, rules of conduct and discipline which men in after times have reduced to a system called Christianity or Confucianism is not the absolute true religion no more than that the civilization in China or in Europe is the true absolute perfect civilization. The Chinese literati, I said, were helpless because they did not know this. The great value, great power for good and evil of the modern civilization of Europe—and here, I hope to make peace with those of my foreign friends who call me anti-foreign,—lies even in this that the people of modern Europe since the great French Revolution have powerfully seized upon this idea of *expansion*. And this great idea of expansion has also come to China. What Matthew Arnold says of the state of things in England of his time, is true of China to-day. Matthew Arnold says : "And is not the close and bounded intellectual horizon within which we have long lived and moved now lifting up and are not new lights finding free passage to shine in upon us ? For a

long time there was no passage for them to make their way in upon us and then it was no use to think of adapting the world's action to them. Where was the hope of making reason and the will of God prevail among people who had a routine which they had christened reason and the will of God, in which they were inextricably bound and beyond which they had no power of looking? But now the iron force of adhesion to the old routine,—social, political, religious—has wonderfully yielded ; the iron force of exclusion of all which is new has wonderfully yielded. The danger now is, not that people should obstinately refuse to allow anything but their old routine to pass for reason and the will of God, but either that they should allow some novelty or other to pass for these too easily or else that they should underrate the importance of these altogether, and think it enough to follow action for its own sake without troubling themselves to make reason and the will of God prevail therein."

In fact the danger in China as well as in Europe to-day is not that people should mistake what Matthew Arnold calls routine, the traditional accepted standard of right and wrong as right reason and the will of God, but that they should believe that there is no such a thing at all as right reason and the will of God. The London "Times" says: "Everybody has his own little

vision of perfection." What is more, every Englishman who now calls himself a Liberal, considers his own little vision or point of view of perfection as good as if not better than anybody's, and he does not care twopence for what we call right reason and the will of God. The modern Englishman therefore when he comes to China, because he wants to make money by some pet scheme of his, of opening gold mines, selling cheap soap or lending money to the Chinese for building some useless railway, tries to impose his "own little vision of perfection" upon the Chinese and when the Chinese resist, the Englishman gets furiously angry and becomes an ill-natured pessimist like J. O. P. Bland, who writes spiteful, nasty things against the Mandarinism in China.

Thinking Englishmen who read the spiteful *niaseries* and nasty things which men of the type of J. O. P. Bland have written about the Chinese Mandarins should also read what the late General Gordon has said of these same Chinese Mandarins. In comparing the two points of view of General Gordon and of J. O. P. Bland, one should remember that General Gordon was a world famous Christian Knight and a gentleman, whereas J. O. P. Bland is only a clever writer of *vers de société* and a disappointed ex-employee of the Chinese Government. General Gordon says: "What I think is, that if we try to drive the

Chinese into sudden reforms, they will strike and resist with all the obstinacy of a pig; but if we lead them, we shall find them willing to a degree and most easy to manage. They like to have an option and hate having a course struck out for them as if they were of no account in the matter. What we have tried to do is to force them into a certain course, making them pay for the same and thinking it not worth while discussing the matter with them at all I always consider the great difficulty the great mandarins have to contend with; they may perfectly agree in everything that may be urged upon them by us, but cannot carry it out; and we must confess it is far easier to say go and do this or that, than to do it. We row the poor devils if they do not make reforms in their army, but do not consider that changes must be gradual and palatable as far as possible I could say much more for the Imperialists (Chinese), they have many faults, but *have suffered much wrong from foreigners who have preyed on their country.*"

Now what I want to say here is that it seems to me the spiritual state of the average modern Englishman or European like J. O. P. Bland who comes to China and talks of progress and reform, is in a much more hopeless state than even that of our old Chinese literati. It is true that the Chinese literati do not know any civilization

but their own; but then at least they know *something* of their own civilization. The average Englishman or European of the type of J. O. P. Bland, on the other hand, who talks glibly of progress and reform in China, does not know even his own civilization; in fact does not and cannot know what civilization really is, because he does not believe there is such a thing as right reason and the will of God, and without a belief in right reason and in the will of God, no civilization, but only anarchy, is possible in this world.

In fact the modern Englishman, it seems to me, more than even our old Chinese literati, is very much in need of *expansion*, expansion in a true sense which means soul expansion. But *true expansion* does not teach that there is not such a thing at all as a best self and a right reason having claim to paramount authority to decide what is right and wrong, what is excellent and worthless. The real value of true expansion is that it enables us to see that our own little vision, as the London "Times" calls it, of perfection is very far indeed from being the true absolute perfection which is in the eternal nature of things. Indeed when the Englishman understands what true expansion means, he will become aware of a thing which he now little suspects, namely, that his own little vision of religious and civil perfection, is indeed a very narrow little vision and

being aware of that, he will not be so eager to impose that narrow little vision or point of view of his, upon others.

The great difficulty, however, is how to get this true *expansion*. The one thing necessary, it seems to me, in order to get this true expansion is, to use a phrase in vogue in the political world, the principle of "open door," not open door for trade and railway, but intellectual and moral "open door." Indeed without intellectual and moral open door, true expansion, is impossible. The principle of "open door" is enunciated in those words of St. Paul: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

In short what is wanted not only in China, but also in the world to-day, is not so much "progress" and "reform," but "open door" and "expansion," not, however, in a political or material, but in an intellectual and moral sense. Without intellectual open door, there can be no true soul-expansion, and without true soul-expansion, there can be no progress. I have already given St. Paul's definition of "open door." I will now give Confucius's definition of "Expansion." Confucius says, "Among really educated people, there is no race distinction (類無教有)."

It is with the wish to further this cause of "intellectual open door" and "moral expansion"

in the world that I have written the following series of articles and, in the hope that it will so further this cause, I now commit them in a book form to the indulgence and judgment of the public.

KU HUNG MING.

SHANGHAI, *1st February*, 1910.

JACOBIN CHINA.

Letter from a Chinese Official to a German Pastor.

MY HONOURED HERR PASTOR,

Some five years ago writing to the "N.-C. Daily News" under the signature of a long-gowned Chinaman I said : "As far as I can see, the fever and insanity of the present Reform Movement in China will surely bring on a catastrophe." Now the catastrophe has come. The revolution has ended with Yuan-Shih-kai as President of the Republic of China. People are all astonished, but I am not. If you will read Mr. Ku Hung-ming's book called "The Story of a Chinese Oxford Movement," you will see that he divided the population of China into three classes:—(1) The Manchu Aristocracy; (2) The Middle Class Literati; (3) The Populace.

The history of China for the last 250 odd years began first with—

I.—The Manchu in Power.

After the T'ai-ping Rebellion came—

II.—The Middle Class Ascendency.

After the Japanese war came—

III.—The Manchu Restoration.

After the Boxer outbreak came—

IV.—An Interregnum of a Chinese Triumvirate.

Now after this New Learning Boxer outbreak we come to—

V.—The Populace in Power.

As I said, the catastrophe which I foresaw five years ago, has now come. The real catastrophe, however, let me say here, is not the revolution with its bloodshed and destruction of property. The real catastrophe is that the revolution has ended with Yuan Shih-kai as President of the Republic. The revolt in the beginning of the present revolution which began in Szechuen was, as far as a revolt can be called legitimate, a legitimate revolt. It was, as will be remembered, a revolt of the people against the Government in Peking for allowing foreigners to deal with the question of building railways in China, as if the Chinese people were of no account in the matter. The original cause for revolt in the present revolution, it should be remembered, was the interference of foreigners in the internal affairs of China. But the real catastrophe came when the Populace in Shanghai and elsewhere took advantage of the protest of the people against the Government for a specific grievance and turned it into a revolution. It was then a real calamity when men like Dr. Wu Ting-fang were able to send telegrams to the Emperor of China telling him to abdicate. Matthew Arnold, speaking of the Populace, says: "As to the Populace, who, whether he be a Barbarian or Philistine, can look at them without sympathy when he remembers,—every time that we snatch up a vehement opinion in ignorance and passion, every time that we long to crush an adversary by sheer violence, every time that we are envious, every time that we are brutal, every time that we adore mere power or success, every time that *we add our voice to swell a blind clamour against some unpopular personage*, every time that we trample savagely upon the fallen,—he has found in his own bosom the eternal spirit of the Populace." Now Dr. Wu Ting-fang in the way he has added his voice to swell the blind clamour

against the unpopular Manchus, shows unmistakably that he has, as Matthew Arnold calls it, the eternal spirit of the Populace in him well developed.

The real catastrophe, I say, is not the revolution. The real catastrophe is that the revolution has ended with Yuan Shih-kai as President of a Republic which means that the Populace has now the whole of China under its heels. Yuan Shih-kai, as Mr. Ku Hung-ming said in his book, is the incarnation of the Populace who turned renegade, to his party at the time of the first reform movement. Now that the Populace has got into power, he is naturally the fittest Head of the Republic. I do not think his rule will last long, but during that short time, everything that is refined, beautiful, noble, elevating, amiable, and of good report in China will be in danger of being destroyed.

A gentleman from your German Consulate said to me the other day that he was astonished that we Chinese had so long submitted to the tyranny of the Manchus! He asked me what the Manchus had done for China. In reply I asked him if he had ever seen the K'ang-hsi porcelains. I told him if he had, he ought to know what the Manchus had done for us—had given us Chinese *a beautiful soul* so that we were enabled to produce among other beautiful things, those beautiful porcelains. In short China under the Manchu power became a beautiful China, —a truly *flowery* land. When the Middle class in China came into power, after the T'ai-ping Rebellion, the Chinese became a nation of Philistines. The picture given by the aristocratic Englishman which Mr. Ku Hung-ming quoted in his book,—of Canton and the half naked Cantonese, is a picture of China under Li Hung-chang,—a vulgar and ugly China. It was against that vulgar and ugly

China, I may incidentally say here, that the men of the Chinese Oxford movement rose up and made their protest.

But if China became vulgar and ugly under Li Hung-chang,—now that the Populace with Sun Yat-sen and the American Homer Lee is in full and unrestrained power under Yuan Shih-kai, what will become of us? I shudder to think of it. Goethe says: "*Was uns alle bändigt,—das Gemeine.*" *Das Gemeine*, all that is low, ignoble, vulgar, base and vile in China will now have full scope, full "liberty" to develop itself. In short *das gemeine* will be the ideal of the New China. To make things still worse, we shall not only have what is *gemeine* in us Chinese, but we shall have also all what is *gemeine* from Europe and America.

Goethe shortly before his death uttered a warning cry against "the Anglo-Saxon contagion." When on the second day of the last Chinese New Year, I went to the most aristocratic public tea-garden in Shanghai and saw the New China,—the crowd of queueless Chinese with their indescribable effrontery of bad taste and bad manners, all turbulently gesticulating and noisily shouting, I for the first time fully understood the meaning of Goethe's warning. The foreign population here in Shanghai are now jubilant over the fact that Young China under Yuan Shih-kai has by cutting off the queues, finally adopted the European civilisation. These deluded people are wholly unconscious of the fact that what young China has adopted is not European civilisation at all, but merely the *Shanghai* European civilisation—what Goethe calls the Anglo-Saxon contagion, the disease of the true European civilisation now in the process of development. Now think for one moment what will be the result to the civilisation of the world when once the four hundred million people in China *all* catch this Anglo-Saxon

contagion, take to this *Shanghai* European civilisation, and become utterly vulgar, debased and turbulent like the queueless crowd I saw in the Chinese public garden on New Year's day. Remember, too, that this new debased, turbulent type of Chinese has now learnt the use of dynamite bomb shells. People speak of a New China under Yuan Shih-kai. I say it is the "Yellow Peril" in the truest sense. "*Völker Europa's, bewahret eure heiligsten Güter.*"

Now when I talk with Europeans here in Shanghai, even educated men, and tell them what I now tell you, they all call me an idealist. But these practical realists forget one thing. Indeed it seems to me, the publicists and politicians in these modern days have quite forgotten one very simple truth, namely, that, as a French writer puts it—"the ultimate ground upon which every civilisation and possibility of government rests, is the average morality of the masses and a sufficient amount of practical righteousness in public affairs."

The old *régime* in China, let me say here, with all its shortcomings and abuses, was still able to maintain an average morality among the masses. This can be proved by the fact that European missionaries—men, women and children,—could travel through the length and breadth of the Empire without any grave danger. As to practical righteousness in public affairs, this can also be proved by the fact that the Imperial Chinese Government under the old *régime*, in spite of its extreme financial distress, was still able to pay regularly the instalments of the Boxer indemnity.

But now under Yuan Shih-kai and his republic, all that will be impossible. There are two reasons for this. The one reason is this: In Europe the State and the Church

are two separate institutions, whereas in China they are one. The Church in Europe is the institution which is responsible for the morality of the people while the State is chiefly responsible for the maintenance of order. But in China the State is responsible for both, for the morality of the people as well as for the maintenance of order. The source and fountain head from which the Church in Europe derives its authority to make the people moral is—God. But in China the source and fountain head from which the State derives its authority to make the people moral is—the Emperor. Therefore, as in Europe if you destroy and take away the belief in the existence of God, it will be difficult, if not impossible to maintain morality among the masses;—so in China if you attack and take away the respect of the people for the Emperor, you destroy the whole fabric on which the morality of the Chinese is founded,—in fact you destroy the Chinese religion, which is a religion not of the supernatural world, but of this world, *auf dieser Erde*, with the Chinese Empire the *Ta Ching* dynasty as its Heaven and the Emperor as God,—the Vice-Regent of God; and in thus destroying this religion, you make morality, even an average morality for the masses in China impossible. It is for this reason that I say that loyalty to the Emperor in China is a religion. It is, so to speak, the keystone to the Confucian *State religion*, as distinguished from the *Church religion* in Europe. As in Europe martyrs will die and have died a thousand deaths rather than renounce belief in Christ, the Son of God, so in China martyrs will die and have died a thousand deaths, as can be proved from Chinese history, rather than renounce their loyalty to the Emperor—the Son and Vice-Regent of Heaven. This, then, is the one reason why I say that under Yuan Shih-kai and his republic

even an average morality among the masses in China will become impossible.

But it will be said that in China we have had many revolutions which have ended in a change of dynasty and yet the Chinese had not lost their morality. But then in every revolution in China which has brought about a change of dynasty there are always two conditions. The one condition is that the revolution is made by the *people* and not by the *Populace* as in the present revolution. Mencius says: "He who receives his investiture from the Emperor, becomes a prince; he who receives it from a prince, becomes a lord; he who receives it from the *common country people* 國民, becomes the Emperor." In the present trouble it is notorious that the common country people not only took no part whatever in the revolution, but were even openly against it.—The other condition is that the man who succeeds in becoming the supreme head of the government, must possess transcendent moral qualities to touch the imagination and command the respect of the whole nation. But Yuan Shih-kai in the way he has acted, has not shown even an average moral quality, an average sense of honour and duty, such as one would expect from thieves and gamblers. Remember Yuan Shih-kai was called upon to defend and uphold the Ta Ching Dynasty. He responded to the call. But instead of doing his duty as a man of honour, he first meekly surrenders to the revolutionists, then by intrigue and machination, debauches and destroys the loyalty of the troops entrusted to his command and with their help, forces the Emperor to abdicate, and finally becomes the President of the Republic. In all this how can a plain man with the most ordinary common sense reconcile such conduct with the simplest rule of honour and duty? The most remarkable

thing in the whole affair, however, is that Yuan Shih-kai from beginning to end, never made even the pretence of an effort,—except to surrender. How can then such a man command the respect of the people over whom he rules,—unless that people have lost all sense of honour and duty?

This, then, is the other reason why I say that under Yuan Shih-kai and his republic, even an average morality among the masses in China will be impossible. But without an average morality of the masses, how can there be a government, not to speak of civilisation?

Foreigners admire Yuan Shih-kai as a great statesman who has saved the present situation in China without bloodshed, not knowing that he has only postponed the necessary little blood-shedding for the present for the terrible anarchy and the greater blood-shedding for the future. Indeed, if what I have tried to show in the above is true, then Yuan Shih-kai has done something infinitely worse than shedding human blood,—he has destroyed not only the sense of honour and duty in the Chinese nation, but also the religion, the civilisation of the Chinese race. The *Ta Ching* dynasty is the symbol, the *flag* not only of *respect for authority* in China, but it is also the symbol of the Chinese religion, of the cause of the Chinese civilisation. That flag was entrusted to Yuan Shih-kai; but like a coward and a traitor, he threw it away with the excuse that he had to throw it away in order to save the *linen* of the flag. It is, however, not the duty of an officer who carries the flag of his regiment to save merely the *linen* of the flag, the material thing which costs so many dollars and cents; his duty is to uphold the *cause* for which he fights,—the priceless moral interests of which the linen of the flag is but the emblem. An officer

who acts as Yuan Shih-kai has done, would be considered by every man of honour as a coward and a traitor.

Many of my foreign friends are amused at what they call my foolish and fanatic loyalty to the Manchu dynasty. But my loyalty is not merely a loyalty to the Imperial House under whose beneficent rule my father and my forefathers have lived, my loyalty in this case is a loyalty also to the religion of China, to the cause of the civilisation of the Chinese race. It was the story of our desperate fight for this cause—the cause of the Chinese civilisation, the Chinese religion, the religion of honour and duty against the modern European civilisation, the religion of interests and ambition that Mr. Ku Hung-ming has tried to tell in his story of a Chinese Oxford Movement. The moral of that story, the truth of which can now be seen, is contained in the words: "You cannot serve God and Mammon." Chang Chih-tung told us and taught the literati that we could and should compromise. Here now we have the result. In page 42 of his book, [first edition] Mr. Ku Hung-ming said: "This method of compromise adopted by Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung leads in morality and religion to Jesuitism and in politics to what is called Machiavellism. This Machiavellism taught by Chang Chih-tung to the literati and governing class in China, when adopted by men of less noble and ideal nature than he himself, by men of base and ignoble nature such as Yuan Shih-kai, will do more harm to China than even the vulgarity and corruption of Li Hung-chang."

Now it is the effect of this Jesuitism taught by Chang Chih-tung that has caused the otherwise inexplicable collapse of the loyalty and power of resistance of the whole body of literati in China before the revolutionists

and Yuan Shih-kai. In fact it is this Jesuitism which makes it possible for the literati to believe Yuan Shih-kai when he tells them that he is still loyal to the Throne while he surrenders to the Populace, forces the Emperor to abdicate and becomes the President of a Republic. Finally, it is also this subtle spirit of Jesuitism,—the end justifies the means—which makes even men of education among foreigners blind to the palpable fact that Yuan Shih-kai has acted in a way which one would not tolerate even from gamblers and thieves.

Emerson in his book "English Traits," speaking of the love of truth in the English character and their hatred of trimmers, time servers and opportunists, says: "The radical mob at Oxford cried after the Tory Lord Eldon: 'There is old Eldon, cheer him: he never *ratted!*'" Emerson then adds to this a note in which, referring to the honours paid by the English to Louis Napoleon, he says: "I am sure no Englishman whom I had the happiness to know consented when the aristocracy and the commons of London cringed like a Neapolitan rabble before a successful thief. But how to resist one step, though odious, in a linked series of State necessities? Government must always learn too late that the use of dishonest agents is as ruinous to nations as to individual men."

If, as I have said, it is a great calamity to China that the revolution has ended with Yuan Shih-kai as President of a republic in China, it will be, I say, a greater calamity still, a calamity not only to China, but to the whole world, if the foreign Powers do not find a way to resist the odious step of recognising Yuan Shih-kai and his republic. The story is told of a Spanish nobleman who, when commanded to receive a high placed and notorious traitor, said: "I will receive him in all obedience, and burn

down my house afterwards." The Chinese people, if the foreign Powers recognise Yuan Shih-kai, will, like the Spanish nobleman, for the moment receive him in all obedience; but afterwards they will surely burn down their own house and in burning down their house, set fire to the whole world.

In conclusion let me again emphasise the fact that republicanism in China means Atheism. When Robespierre during the French Revolution publicly proclaimed Atheism in France by setting up a statue of the Goddess of Reason, all Europe expected to see the Golden Age with liberty, equality and fraternity, but within less than six months there came, instead of the Golden Age, the "Terror" which shook the thrones of Europe. Now Yuan Shih-kai in China with his tongue in his cheek has not only declared that a republic is the best form of government, but has actually proclaimed the republic which, to the Chinese is equivalent to the proclaiming of Atheism; and all Europe and America hope to see a new China with reform, progress and prosperity. But take my word for it, the immediate result of Yuan Shih-kai and his republicanism in China will be something more terrible even than the "Terror" in France—something which will certainly compel the nations of Europe and America very seriously to reconsider the way they have treated China and her civilisation.

T. S.

THE STORY OF A CHINESE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

MATTHEW ARNOLD speaking of Oxford, the Oxford of the past, says: "We in Oxford, brought up amidst the beauty and sweetness of that beautiful place, have not failed to seize one truth: the truth that beauty and sweetness are essential characters of a complete human perfection. This,—our sentiment for beauty and sweetness, our sentiment against hideousness and rawness, has been at the bottom of our attachment to so many beaten causes, of our opposition to so many triumphant movements. And the sentiment is true and has never been wholly defeated and has shown its power even in its defeat." "Look," Matthew Arnhold went on to say, "look at the course of the great movement which shook Oxford to its centre some thirty years ago. It was directed, as any one who reads Dr. Newman's 'Apology' may see, against what in one word may be called 'Liberalism.' Liberalism prevailed. The Oxford movement was broken, it failed; our wrecks are scattered on every shore.

Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris."

When, with those words of Matthew Arnold in my mind, I read the other day the account of the scheme for

a University for China originating, I understand, from Oxford, I rubbed my eyes and said to myself, what a long way the world, what a long way Oxford has travelled since Dr. Newman's days. Dr. Newman's Oxford movement was directed against Liberalism. Liberalism in Dr. Newman's days meant progress and new learning. Now the object of the present movement in Oxford, the scheme for a University in China, is to bring Western ideas into China, and Western ideas in China, as everybody knows, means progress and new learning. What has then become of the Oxford sentiment which, Matthew Arnold says, inspired Dr. Newman's Oxford movement against Liberalism, against the cause of progress and the new learning? Have the scholars of Oxford now found a way to reconcile the Oxford sentiment with progress and the new learning? I myself do not think such a reconciliation is possible. It is said of old, "You cannot serve God and Mammon." or is it possible that the Oxford scholars, under the cover of an alliance with the now triumphant cause of progress and the new learning, are really coming to help the Chinese in their hour of despair? Noble-minded men in Oxford and in England say to themselves: "We really sympathise with the Chinese in their fight with progress and the new learning which is making them materialistic and ruining their morality. In order to help them to fight more effectively and win, we will supply them with weapons, taken, it is true, from the armoury of progress and the new learning, but tempered with our Oxford sentiment for beauty and sweetness and, if possible, better still, with the divine beauty and sweetness of Christianity."

Now, instead of offering any suggestion or criticism of my own on the present scheme for a University in China, I think it may be of some use to Lord Cecil and

those interested in this University scheme if I were to tell them the story of a great movement some thirty years ago in China which, in many respects, was a counterpart of Dr. Newman's famous Oxford movement in England. The Chinese Oxford movement was also directed against Liberalism, against the modern European ideas of progress and new learning. As the present new Oxford movement is coming, I believe, as I said, to help us Chinese to fight against modern European ideas of progress and new learning, I think the lessons to be learnt from our campaign in the past, how we fought, why and how we were defeated: all this will be useful to our new foreign allies. I am the more able to tell the story of our campaign, as I have myself had the honour of fighting in the rank and file of our Oxford men. We have fought hard for thirty years, but now our cause is as good as lost. Some of our men have betrayed our cause. Many have surrendered and all are now scattered far and wide.

The chief under whom I fought was the late Imperial Chancellor Chang Chih-tung. When I last saw him two years ago in Peking he was in utter despair and was only thinking how to mollify the terms of capitulation. My comrade in arms under Chang Chih-tung in the campaign, Liang Tun-yen, now the President of the Waiwupu, when I saw him last year, passed to me the order "*saue qui peut!*"—I am perhaps the only one among our men who still absolutely believe in the final victory for our cause, the cause of Chinese civilisation against modern European ideas of progress and new learning. But I am now all alone, and, like the hero of Virgil's story who, when Troy was taken, had to wander forth and at first tried to settle himself among the Thracians, a people with the "*auri sacra fames*," so I, too,

have had to come to find a temporary refuge and resting place for my household gods and the great Gods of Troy (Penatibus et magnis Dis) here in Shanghai, where I have had to grapple with the mud dragons of the Whangpoo river, finding not an English gentleman in the whole place who would lift his finger to help me, because "what is everybody's business, is nobody's business."

The story I am going to tell, therefore, of our desperate fight for the cause of Chinese civilisation is a long story, and bound up as it is with my past life and calling up memories of fallen comrades, dead dear ones and all what *might* have been,—is for me personally one of unspeakable sadness.

Sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros
Et breviter Trojæ supremum audire laborem,
Quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
Incipiam.



CHAPTER I.

THE MANCHU IN POWER.

THE Hanlin Academy in Peking was the Oxford of China—the seat of the flower of the intellectual aristocracy of the country. It was therefore in the Hanlin Academy that the movement which I have called the Chinese Oxford movement had its head-quarters. The young Hanlins who joined and supported this Chinese Oxford movement were called the Ching-liu-tang 清流黨,—the party of National Purification. This National Purification movement in China, like the Oxford movement in England, was a Confucian High Church Tory revival. The object of the movement, while opposing the introduction of foreign methods and foreign ideas favoured then by Li Hung-chang and the Chinese Liberals, was to purify the currents of national life by calling upon the nation to live more strictly according to the Confucian principles. In order to make people understand this Chinese Oxford movement, it is necessary for me first to explain at some length the organism of the Chinese social body, or social order, in China.

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Matthew Arnold divided the English nation into three classes,—Barbarians, Philistines and Populace. The Chinese nation may also be divided into three classes. The Barbarians in China are the Manchus,—

the Aristocracy by birth. The Philistines in China are the Chinese educated class, from whom are recruited the literati. The Populace in China are the lower middle class living in cities and the working class from whom are recruited the rich merchants and compradores,—the Aristocracy, it may be called, by the power of industry. The characteristic and strength of the Manchu Aristocracy is heroism or nobility of character. The characteristic and strength of the Chinese literati is power of intelligence. The characteristic and strength of the populace or working class in China is power of industry or hard work. Confucius says, "The power of conscientious hard work is the characteristic of men of moral character (力行近乎仁)": Matthew Arnold calls it Hebraism. That is the power of industry of the populace, or working class, in China. Confucius says again, "Love of learning is the characteristic of men of intellectual character": Matthew Arnold calls it Hellenism. That is the power of intelligence of the Chinese literati. Lastly, Confucius says, "Sensitiveness to shame is the characteristic of men of brave or heroic character." That is the heroism or nobility of character of the Manchu Aristocracy. The Manchus, being the descendants of the only military caste in China, have more than the Chinese heroism or nobility of character, because their fathers were soldiers. Militarism more than anything else stimulates the growth of nobility of character, because a true soldier has constantly before him the ideal of self-sacrifice, and self-sacrifice is at the bottom of all nobility of character.

In a healthy and normal state of society in China, the nation has to depend first upon the power of industry of the people or working class to produce food and other necessary commodities for the national material well-

being. The nation has next to depend upon the power of intelligence of the Chinese literati to train, educate and regulate the power of industry of the people and properly to distribute the product of that industry. Lastly, and most important of all, the nation has to depend upon the nobility of character of the Manchu Aristocracy to *direct*,—to see that the power of industry of the people is nobly directed, to noble purposes. In short the power of industry of the people in China has to produce ; the power of intelligence of the Chinese literati has to educate ; and the nobility of the Manchu Aristocracy has to direct the power of industry of the people to a noble national life,—to a noble civilisation. Foreigners who have travelled in the interior of China and seen the remains of bridges and canals in the country, will understand what I mean by noble direction of national life,—the direction of the power of industry of the people as regards things material to noble purposes. As for things of the mind, works such as the great K'ang-hsi dictionary will attest sufficiently to the nobility of character of the early Manchu Emperors and their ability to direct the power of industry of the mind of the nation to noble purposes.

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The long peace, however, which preceded the coming of foreigners into China produced its natural and inevitable results. The nobility of character of the Manchu aristocracy for want of the stimulating power of active military service, stagnated and became impaired. As for the Chinese literati, the strenuous effort of mind required for the literary examination, it is true, still gave exercise to their power of intelligence. But for want of the tonic stimulus of the earlier strong inspiring Manchu influence, the power of intelligence of the Chinese literati also

became very much impaired. The quantity of intelligence was there, but the quality was gone. One can see this very plainly when one compares the literature,—especially the poetry of the early K'ang-hsi period with that of later times when the Manchu influence became weak. In fact the power of intelligence of the Chinese literati, without the strong ennobling Manchu influence to give it tone, lost its delicacy and became coarse and ignoble (*).

The only national power of the Chinese nation left unimpaired after the long peace then, as it is now, was

(*) NOTE.—Intelligence without delicacy and sweetness in its pure native state, is what the English call commonsense. This commonsense, or intelligence without delicacy and sweetness, when strained and hardened by overwork, is what Carlyle calls the beaver intelligence,—the intelligence of people whom Matthew Arnold calls Philistines. The commonsense, or intelligence without delicacy or sweetness, when sharpened by appetite is what Carlyle calls the vulpine intelligence. The beaver or Philistine intelligence is useful for routine work, such as collecting customs dues, making statistics, &c., but it should never be entrusted with power in any work connected with education, because it can educate the mind, but not the character,—the head but not the heart, of the people. Confucius speaking of education says: "With fear and trembling take care of the heart of the people: that is the the root of the matter in education,—that is the highest education." (大畏民志此謂知本此謂知之至也). The vulpine intelligence, again, is useful for building railways, cotton mills and electric machines, but it should never be entrusted with power in any work connected with civilisation,—because it is not humane and does not know what compassion is. Mahommed says: "God has put compassion in your hearts." It is because this vulpine intelligence or commonsense without delicacy and sweetness sharpened by appetite,—which is now the supreme power controlling the lives of nations and the destiny of civilisation,—does not know what compassion is, that we can explain why educated and civilised men cannot see and understand that it is not only immoral and wrong, but bad taste, bad form, to seek only to increase the comforts, luxuries and splendour of life for ourselves, while other human beings around us are actually starving or living on the bare necessities of life, and in order to increase those comforts, luxuries and splendour, to force trade and railways upon other nations regardless of their national life. Emerson says: "To live with some rigour of temperance or some extreme of generosity, seems to be an asceticism which common good nature would appoint to those who are at ease and in plenty in sign that they feel a brotherhood with the great multitude of suffering men."

the power of industry, the power of hard work of the working class. Nevertheless even the unimpaired power of industry of the common people in China without the intelligent training and regulation by the literati, became not only coarse but less productive. But what was still worse than the want of intelligent training and regulation for the industry of the people, was the loss of noble direction. The power of industry of the hard working class in China, without the Manchu nobility of character to direct it to noble purposes, was wasted for ignoble purposes, *i.e.*, it was not directed to produce things necessary for the health of the body and beauty of the soul of the people in the nation, but to produce things merely to stimulate and satisfy the pleasures of the senses and cravings of vanity, in fact to produce means of comfort, luxury and ostentation.

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Ruskin spent all his life to convince people that political economy is a moral science and its object should be to teach men and nations, not how to make money but how to spend money. Indeed, the financial distress of China and the economic sickness of the world to-day is not due to want or insufficiency of productive power, to want of manufactures and railways, but to ignoble and wasteful consumption. Ignoble and wasteful consumption in communities as in nations means the want of nobility of character in the community or nation to direct the power of industry of the people to noble purposes. Where there is nobility of character in a community or nation, people will know how to spend their money, how to spend their money for noble purposes. When people know how to spend their money for noble purposes, they will care not for the what, but

for the how,—not for the bigness, grandeur or showiness, but for the taste, for the beauty of their life surroundings. When people in a nation or community with sufficient nobility of character to care only for the tastefulness and beauty of their life surroundings, they will want little to satisfy them and in that way will not waste the power of industry of the people such as in building big ugly houses and making long useless roads. When the power of industry of the people in a community or nation is nobly directed and not wasted, then the community or nation is truly rich not in money or possession of big ugly houses, but rich in the health of the body and beauty of the soul of its people.

Goethe says, "Every gift is valuable and ought to be unfolded. When one encourages the beautiful alone, and another encourages the useful alone, it takes them both to form a nation. The useful encourages itself; for the multitude produces it and no one can dispense with it. The beautiful must be encouraged; for few can set it forth and many need it." Therefore, things which Yuan Shih K'ai and Dr. Morrison want for China, such as coal, iron, cheap soap, cheap trams, wireless telegraphy,—things which Goethe calls the useful, need not be encouraged. But things which the late Empress-Dowager wanted for China, such as the beauty of her Summer Palace, the Confucian Analects, Chinese poetry and even the eight legged essays,—things which Goethe calls the beautiful, have to be encouraged; for "few can set them forth and not only many, but all need them." For without the things which Goethe calls the beautiful, there is no nobility of character, and without nobility of character, as we have seen, the power of industry of the people in a nation will be wasted in ignoble and wasteful consumption. When the power of industry of the people in a

nation or community is wasted in ignoble and wasteful consumption, then all the comforts, luxuries and splendour of the life of that nation or community are like the Dead Sea apples of Sodom and Gomorrah, splendid on the outside, but full of bitterness, ashes and death in the core.

Thus, at the time of which we are now speaking, after the long peace just before the coming of foreigners, the now renowned splendid life of comfort, luxury and gaiety in such cities as Soochow and Hangchow showed very plainly that there was the cancer of ignoble and wasteful consumption in the nation owing, as I have said, to the loss of power of the Manchu nobility of character to direct the power of industry of the people to noble purposes. Now ignoble and wasteful consumption not only wastes the power of industry of the people, but it makes a just distribution of the fruit of that industry difficult. When the fruit of the people's industry is not justly distributed, then the rich become richer and the poor poorer.

This was the state of China when foreigners first came with their trade and opium into the country. The quick and easy way to make a fortune which foreign trade and opium opened to the merchant and compradore class on the sea coasts, very soon swelled the size and increased the inflammation of the cancer of ignoble and wasteful consumption already in the nation, and made a just distribution of the fruit of the people's industry not only difficult, but impossible. Thus, while the rich and the parasites in the cities who feed on the rich become rich and richer, the people in the country who cannot become parasites, not only become poor and poorer, but cannot even live. When the people in a nation, except the rich and their parasites, find that after they have strained to

the utmost their power of industry they cannot even keep their body and soul together—then the one only thing left for the people to do, is to get mad, rise up and violently tear up the national cancer which, as we have seen, showed its symptoms most plainly in such cities as Soochow and Hangchow. The tearing up of the national cancer of ignoble wasteful consumption in China at the time, is now known as the Taiping rebellion. (*)

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When the convulsion of the Taiping rebellion came, the Manchu aristocracy became helpless. The reason for this was not because the Manchu aristocracy had entirely lost their heroism or nobility of character. Foreigners who will read the account of the battle at Petang in the Anglo-French North China expedition of 1860 can see in the splendid gallantry of the Manchu troops that the readiness to face death without turning back was still there in the Manchu aristocracy. But the real reason why the Manchu aristocracy became helpless before the Taiping rebels was because while the Manchu aristocracy had nobility of character on their side, the Taiping rebels had fanaticism on theirs.

Now what is fanaticism? Fanaticism is nobility of human nature gone mad. The strong sense of indignation against social wrongs had stirred up the nobility of character also in the stolid Chinese nature of the Taiping

(*) NOTE.—The tearing up of the national cancer in China by the Taiping rebellion began in the South, near Canton, because it was there that the inflammation of the national cancer became suddenly acute owing to the civilising influence of foreign trade and English opium. The tearing up of the cancer by the Boxer explosion,—for as we shall see such also was the inner meaning of that short but terrible explosion—began and took place in Tientsin because it was there the people felt most acutely the inflammation of the cancer of Li Hung Chang and his progress and new learning.

rebels and made them mad. Therefore against the fanaticism or noble madness of the Taiping rebels, the heroism and power of haughty resistance of the Manchu aristocracy were worse than useless. That is also the reason, I may remark here, why the old noblesse of Europe, with all their splendid high spirit and other great moral qualities, have always been and even to this day are so helpless against revolution and revolutionists. The haughtiness of an aristocrat may awe an ignoble mob of foolish apprentices and shopkeepers, but all the heroism and the finest fighting quality of an aristocrat who cannot or will not see the social wrongs of the people can do nothing against God's justice, which is always at the bottom of a revolution in Russia or a riot in Shanghai. Right and wrong, justice and injustice, get so mixed up in riots and revolutions that you require the eye to see as well as the hand to strike; otherwise you may break your mailed fist, even if the mail be of the best Krupp steel, against God's justice.

In short, in order to deal effectively with fanaticism or nobility of human nature gone mad, to deal with mad men, what is required above everything, is intelligence,—the power of intelligence. Therefore when the Taiping rebellion came, the Manchu aristocracy becoming helpless before the fanaticism of these rebels, the late Empress-Dowager had to call to her aid the power of intelligence of the Chinese literati and depended wholly upon them to put down the rebellion. In this way the ruling power or the State, as Matthew Arnold calls it, *i.e.*, the real power of initiative and direction in the State in China passed from the hands of the Manchu aristocracy into the hands of the Chinese literati. The centre of influence or head-quarters of the Manchu aristocracy is in Peking. The head-quarters of the Chinese literati on the

other hand is in the provinces. The passing of power from the Manchu aristocracy to the Chinese literati therefore meant the transference of the real power of government from Peking to the provinces. This was the beginning and is the true *raison d'être* of the state of decentralisation which many foreigners have observed in the present government of China.

The abuses and evils of decentralisation at the time, however, were stopped by the personality of one great Chinese literati,—the late Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan (father of the Marquis Tseng who went to England as Minister). The great Marquis became the Doyen of the Chinese literati, and being invested with almost absolute power by the late Empress-Dowager, was virtually a Dictator in China during the whole period of the Taiping rebellion. Under his leadership the Chinese literati nobly responded to the call of the Empress-Dowager. These literati took off their long gowns, and knowing nothing of the art of war and unaccustomed as they had been to physical hardships, they yet strenuously set themselves to overcome all difficulties. They at first by their superior intelligence checked the impetuosity of the Taiping fanatics, and as they gradually learnt the art of war, succeeded at last in putting out the conflagration of the Taiping rebellion. (*)

(*) The great Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan said : I made the young literati of our schools lead the peasantry to put down the rebellion.

(我令儒生率農夫以平天下)



CHAPTER II.

THE MIDDLE CLASS ASCENDENCY.

THE Taiping Rebellion in China was a counterpart of the French Revolution in Europe ; both were a breaking up of an unjust rotten social order. As after the French Revolution in Europe, so in China after the Taiping Rebellion, the ruling power in the state passed from the aristocracy to the middle class. Moreover the stir caused by the breaking up of a social order always brings about with it also the breaking up of the force of habit, routine and old custom in men's minds. People after a revolution are able to take a freer and independent way of looking at things. This free and independent way of looking at things is what is called Liberalism. When the intellect of a nation is thus freed from the bondage of routine and old custom, the national intellect at once becomes active and alive. Thus we find in China at the time of the Taiping rebellion as in Europe during the French Revolution, there was an intellectual quickening and glow all over the country. In the beginning while this intellectual glow lasted, the great Chinese literati were able to direct and keep the forces let loose in restraint and to organise them into some order. But when soon the intellectual glow died out, the forces let loose (still calling themselves Liberalism) not only shaped themselves in any way, but ran into wrong and ill-directed ruts, which tended to impair the national life. It was to call these loose flying

and ill-directed forces into order according to the strict Confucian principles that the movement which I have called the Chinese Oxford movement arose in China.

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This Chinese Oxford movement was chiefly directed against Li Hung-chang,—the Lord Palmerston of the Chinese middle class Liberalism. Li Hung-chang had succeeded the great Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan as the Doyen of the Chinese literati. When the great Chinese literati had put down the Taiping rebellion, they had still two very difficult problems to solve. The first was a work of reconstruction,—the practical problem of social and administrative reorganisation. The other was the problem of what measures to take to meet the coming of Europeans with the destructive forces of their modern intensely materialistic civilisation.

The first problem,—the practical work of social and administrative reorganisation, the great literati of China at the time carried out, if not with perfect thoroughness, yet with a rapidity and success which was very creditable. In a very short time, after the final suppression of the Taiping rebellion, the whole administrative and social machinery in China was again in working order, and there was peace and order throughout the length and breadth of the immense Empire.

In dealing with the other problem however,—the problem, namely, how to deal with the destructive forces of modern European civilisation, the great Chinese literati utterly failed. The Chinese literati were as helpless before the destructive forces of the modern materialistic civilisation of Europe as the middle class in England were before the ideas and doctrines of the French Revolution. To deal effectively with the destructive

forces of modern European civilisation, required expansion on the part of the Chinese literati. But the literati in China, brought up under the influence of the narrow Confucian Puritanism of the Sung dynasty, had no idea of what expansion meant. The only idea the Chinese literati had of expansion in view of the coming of the modern European civilisation was that China must obtain modern guns and ships of war. That was the Chinese literati's idea of expansion.

There was, however, in China at the time one great man who had a true idea of expansion and he was a Manchu. While the Chinese literati were busy building arsenals and trying to manufacture modern guns, Wen Chiang, who was then Prime Minister and first President of the Tseng-li Yamen, founded the Tung Wen Kuan, a College intended to give Chinese youths a thorough European education. It is true that Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan also later on was induced to send 120 students to be educated in America. But the Great Marquis's conception of a European education was a very hazy and narrow one as compared with that of the great Manchu statesman. Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan and the Chinese literati wanted the students to go abroad to learn to make guns and to be able to man the ships of war. The great Manchu statesman had a different conception of a European education. Anyone who wants to know what a broad and noble conception the great Manchu statesman had of the work which he intended his Tung Wen Kuan to do, should read his conversation with the U. S. Minister reported in the Diplomatic Correspondence published by the U. S. Government. But unfortunately the carrying out of this great Manchu statesman's true idea of expansion for the salvation of China was entrusted to the Inspector of Customs, now Sir Robert Hart. Instead of

obtaining the services of first class, thoroughly competent men for this most important educational institution upon which the future salvation of China depended, Sir Robert Hart appointed one of his personal friends, an American ex-missionary, to be President of the Tung Wen Kuan College. Thus the Tung Wen Kuan College, instead of being a source of light, enlightenment and expansion for the Chinese nation, became merely a second class boarding school for poor, starving, good-for-nothing young men.

In fact, there were at one time in China two men in whose hands lay the salvation of the Chinese nation. But unfortunately both these two men were, as Matthew Arnold would say, Philistines. *Hinc illae lacrymae*. Whatever may be said of the services which Sir Robert Hart and Li Hung-chang have undoubtedly rendered to China, yet the utter indifference and neglect with which Sir Robert Hart treated the interests of the Tung Wen Kuan College and all educational matters in China and the way Li Hung-chang treated the 120 returned American students will always redound to the everlasting disgrace of these two men. As Li Hung-chang believed for the salvation of China in guns and warships Sir Robert Hart believed, above all things, in a big revenue for China. Of these two conceptions of the source of a nation's greatness, I venture to think that Sir Robert Hart's conception is even a narrower, baser, and ignobler one than that of Li Hung-chang.

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We have seen that the Chinese literati's conception and idea of expansion for China was to obtain modern guns and ships of war. In order to carry out this

programme of expansion, Li Hung-chang had attracted round him men of the rich, lower middle and compradore classes who had made money by foreign trade; and these men all showed an inclination to favour what they called progress in the direction of adopting foreign ways and methods. Their crude ideas of adopting foreign ways and methods however had all the vulgarity and hideousness which Matthew Arnold speaks of in the English middle class Liberalism. This vulgarity and hideousness of course shocked the flower of the intellectual aristocracy in the Hanlin Academy,—the Oxford of China. In this way, the Oxford movement became intensely anti-foreign. It was anti-foreign, not because these scholars hated foreigners; it was anti-foreign, because these scholars saw before their eyes that the foreign ways and methods of Li Hung-chang and his entourage were hideously vulgar and demoralising. This is the moral basis of the anti-foreign spirit of the true Chinese literati.

The Dr. Newman of the Oxford movement in China was the late Li Hung-tsao, then President of the Hanlin Academy. He was not a great thinker, but he was, like Dr. Newman, a man of great sweetness of temper and purity of character. The present generation of literati to this day speak of him not only with respect, but with affection. After his death, the late Empress-Dowager canonised him with the honorific Wencheng—"Gentle and blameless."

The two most famous men connected with this Chinese Oxford movement were the late Chang Pei-lun, the hero of the Foochow naval battle, and the late Imperial Chancellor Chang Chi-tung. The other well-known men of this Oxford movement were the late Teng Chen-hsiu, Chen Pao-chien (recently called to Peking),

Hsu Chih-chiang, and the late Chen Ch'e-tai (Governor of Kiangsu, who died just the other day).

This Oxford movement in China became overwhelmingly strong just before the outbreak of the Tonking war. After Li Hung-chang had made a muddle of the Fournier convention at Chefoo, these young Hanlins with the country behind them lifted their voices and Li Hung-chang was compelled to cower down and sulk for a time. Then Chen Pao-chen was sent as Imperial Commissioner to negotiate with Patenotre at Kao Chang-miao in Shanghai. Chang Pei-lun was sent to defend Foochow and Chang Chih-tung to defend Canton.

These young, hot-headed scholars without any experience of affairs, of course, made a mess of things. The ultimate result was—the French lost their patience and Admiral Courbet was ordered to blow up the Foochow Arsenal fleet. Chang Pei-lun, like the Latin poet, threw away his shield and ran away to the hills for safety. Chang Chih-tung was more fortunate. The French did not go to Canton.

After the war, Li Hung-chang had again to come back to power, and the Chinese Oxford movement was thus utterly broken. Chen Pao-chen, the Imperial Commissioner at Kao chang-miao, was dismissed, Chang Pei-lun, the hero of the Foochow naval battle, was banished to work in the post roads. A still more questionable fate awaited him after his return from banishment. He became the son-in-law of Li Hung-chang. Teng Chen-hsiu was sent to delimit the Tonking frontier and immediately after retired from public life. Hsu Chih-chiang was permanently shelved in the Hanlin Academy. He ultimately gave himself up to wine and women and died quite young. Before his death he sent a violent

impeachment against Chang Chih-tung, denouncing him in scathing terms for turning renegade to his early principles and for making up to Li Hung-chang.

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The two men of the Oxford movement who escaped disgrace after the break-up of the party were Li Hung-tsao and Chang Chih-tung. Li Hung-tsao remained in as great favour with the late Empress-Dowager as ever. As we have seen, she canonised him after his death. This little fact is a sign to me that the heart of the late Empress-Dowager was really with the Oxford movement. As the late Queen Victoria could not bear Lord Palmerston, so the late Empress-Dowager never really liked Li Hung-chang, although she had to entrust the direction of affairs into his experienced hands. When Chang Pei-lun, the hero of the Foochow naval battle, returned from banishment and married Li Hung-chang's daughter, Li Hung-chang asked the Empress-Dowager to restore Chang Pei-lun to his rank. But the Empress-Dowager curtly refused. She could not imagine how a man who had once belonged to the Oxford movement could possibly marry the daughter of Li Hung-chang.

As I have called Li Hung-chang the Chinese Lord Palmerston, so I may call Chang Chih-tung the Gladstone of China. Both are the products of the Oxford movement, one of the Oxford of China as the other of England. Gladstone began as an Anglican High Church Tory and ended as a Home Ruler. Chang Chih-tung began as a Confucian High Church Conservative and ended as an advocate of constitutional government. Chang Chih-tung was a scholar, but like Gladstone, a scholar of superficial,

not deep scholarship. In fact, both of these men showed in the culture of their minds the weak point in both the English and Chinese Oxford movements.

The weakness of the Oxford movement in both cases was that the movement concerned itself with ideas based upon given principles, in England upon the principles of Christianity and in China upon the principles of Confucianism. The scholars of the Oxford movement in both cases took for granted that the given principles of Christianity and of Confucianism are true; they did not dare to test and ask if these given principles are true not by the authority of Christ or Confucius but by the eternal nature of things. In short, the Oxford movement both in China and in England never carried its thought to first principles. The ideas of the Oxford movement in both cases, therefore, never reached down to the moral root of things. In this sense the Oxford movement in both countries was not a true, but a superficial and sham intellectual illumination. The scholars of the Oxford movement have not the vivifying ideàs, the soul convictions of true thinkers, because their ideas never reach down to the root of their moral being. This is the explanation why men of the Oxford movement are so liable to change. Dr. Newman changed his religion. Gladstone and Chang Chih-tung changed their politics over and over again.

In short, like Gladstone, Chang Chih-tung was not a thinker, but a great rhetorician, not a scholar in a true sense, but a literati. But Chang Chih-tung as a man of the Oxford movement had an aptitude for ideas which Li Hung-chang never had. Li Hung-chang was really a Philistine, but, like Lord Palmerston, an aristocratic Philistine. He had the outside polish and good form of the Hanlin Academy, the Oxford of China. But he had

absolutely no culture whatever beyond the routine education of the literary examination. He made up, however, for his want of culture by industry and methodical application to business. His long and multifarious experience in dealing with affairs supplied him with solid common sense, which enabled him to deal with affairs with a firmer grasp than scholars with superficial and vacillating ideas like Chang Chih-tung.

After the French war Chang Chih-tung remained in Canton and while there he drifted from the principles of the Oxford movement and became a Progressist. He and not Yuan Shih-kai was the true originator of the movement now known to foreigners as the Reform movement in China. This Reform movement had three marked stages. The first stage was in the direction of Industrialism. Chang Chih-tung conceived this in Canton and carried it out in Wuchang. The second stage began after the Japanese war and it was in the direction of Militarism and military organisation. Chang Chih-tung organised a model Chinese regiment officered by German officers at Woosung, near Shanghai. The third and last stage in the Reform movement began after the Boxer outbreak and it was in the direction of the Westernisation of education.

We shall now see how, as in England, according to Matthew Arnold, it was the influence of Dr. Newman's Oxford movement which helped to break up the middle class Liberalism, so here in China it was also the influence of the Chinese Oxford movement which helped to pull down Li Hung-chang and his hideously vulgar and corrupt oligarchy. The influence of the Oxford movement,—the Oxford sentiment for beauty and sweetness,—enabled and made Chang Chih-tung see and hate the vulgarity of the men whom Li Hung-chang employed to

introduce foreign methods and the hideousness of their corruption. Chang Chih-tung, with all men of the Oxford movement, was at first absolutely opposed to the introduction of foreign methods because of the vulgarity and hideousness he saw accompanying those methods. But after the French war, Chang Chih-tung saw that strict Confucian principles alone were useless against such things as Admiral Courbet's ugly monster ships of war with their terrible guns. Chang Chih-tung seeing this began to compromise. As he saw there was no way of escape from the necessity of adopting these hideous foreign methods, he thought he would try to eliminate as much as possible the elements of vulgarity and hideousness of these methods. I should like to say here, as a proof of Chang Chih-tung's purity of motive and noble patriotism, that during the terms of his Viceroyship both at Canton and Wuchang while he spent and, some people may say, squandered lavishly the public money to introduce foreign methods, he gave and spent as freely all his private fortune to establish great colleges and schools for stimulating the study of the Confucian principles which he thought were now more necessary than ever to counteract the vulgarity and hideousness of the foreign methods which he was obliged to introduce.

— 5 —

In this way Chang Chih-tung became a Progressist and the Progressive policy of Chang Chih-tung, a man of the Oxford movement, was the current in the politics of China which first crossed, then checked, and finally broke up and suppressed the vulgar middle-class Liberalism of Li Hung-chang and his corrupt oligarchy. In fact it was the current of feeling created by the Oxford movement in China which contributed to swell the tide of secret

dissatisfaction among all classes of the literati against the self-confident middle-class Liberalism of Li Hung-chang and his oligarchy and thus prepared the way for its sudden collapse and final suppression after the Japanese war. When Li Hung-chang came back from Japan with peace and dishonour, it was the tide of the secret dissatisfaction created by the Oxford movement which made old, staunch, bigoted Conservatives like the late Emperor's tutor Weng Tung-ho throw in their lot with the rising party of Radicals of Kang Yu-wei with all their fierce and violent Jacobinism.

Matthew Arnold says: "Violent indignation with the past, abstract systems of renovation applied wholesale, a new doctrine drawn up in black and white for elaborating down to the very smallest details, a rational society for the future: these are the ways of Jacobinism." These were also the ways of Kang Yu-wei which the Rev. Timothy Richard and foreigners who called themselves friends of China so much admired.

Moreover, foreigners not only admired Kang Yu-wei and his ways, but foreign ministers in Peking tried to interfere with the free action of the late Empress-Dowager while she was trying her best to save the country from the fierce and violent Jacobinism of Kang Yu-wei and his friends. To complicate the situation the common people, the whole peasantry of North China, rose up to support the Empress-Dowager against Kang Yu-wei and his Jacobinism.

Foreigners mistake when they say that only the literati in China are anti-foreign and the common people are not anti-foreign. In every country the common people are more conservative than the educated class. In China the literati and the common people are equally anti-foreign and anti-progressive, the latter perhaps

more so. The only class in China who are not anti-foreign and anti-progressive are the compradore and parvenu class, who make money from foreign trade. Therefore the common people rose up against Kang Yu-wei's Jacobinism because Kang Yu-wei's Jacobinism meant the wholesale Europeanisation of China. I am not sure how much, but it is certain that the secret influence of the early Oxford movement in China helped to make the common people instinctively feel that Europeanisation of China meant the bringing in of vulgarity and hideousness. When, therefore, the common people saw that foreigners and foreign Powers were openly supporting Kang Yu-wei's Jacobinism, which to the people meant the bringing in of the demon of vulgarity and hideousness, what is more natural than that the people, with that demon of vulgarity and hideousness like a nightmare on their souls, should rise up and make a supreme effort to throw all foreigners in China into the sea? That was the inner moral cause of the Boxer fanaticism.

The situation in Peking, therefore, became a most complicated and desperate one, which the late Empress-Dowager was straining all the energy and power of her statesmanship to save. But the European diplomats in Peking, instead of sympathising with the Imperial Lady, dictated and bullied, bringing besides a handful of soldiers to support their bullying and dictation. In order to fight against the fierce and violent Jacobinism of Kang Yu-wei the Empress-Dowager had to call out the high spirit and power of haughty resistance of the Manchu aristocracy. The late Mr. Michie in his book, "The Englishman in China," has shown that of all classes in China the Manchus are the least anti-foreign. But now the blood of the Manchu race was up and when that

blood with its high spirit and power of haughty resistance came face to face with the bullying and dictation of the foreign diplomats, an explosion of course became inevitable. Thus great though the late Empress-Dowager was, yet the German poet says, "Against stupidity, even the gods fight in vain."

— 6 —

During all this very critical time, Chang Chih-tung had a very difficult part to play. The Jacobinism of Kang Yu-wei had grown out of his programme of progress. Kang Yu-wei, Liang Ch'i-chao, the most brilliant of the Jacobins, in fact nearly all the most prominent young Jacobins, were either pupils or special *protégés* of Chang Chih-tung. When Kang Yu-wei first preached his Jacobinism after the Japanese war, he was immediately expelled from Peking. It was the support given him by Chang Chih-tung which enabled Kang Yu-wei to go a second time to Peking and captivate and convert the late Emperor Kuang Hsu to his course of Jacobinism. But here again the influence of the Oxford movement saved Chang Chih-tung. That Oxford sentiment for beauty and sweetness of which Matthew Arnold speaks made Chang Chih-tung hate the violence and fierceness, the crudeness of Kang Yu-wei's Jacobinism. Chang Chih-tung thus turned back upon Kang Yu-wei and the Jacobins just at the last moment.

Liang Ch'i-chao, the most brilliant of the Jacobins, has since accused Chang Chih-tung of being, like Yuan Shih-kai, an opportunist,—of turning back upon the Jacobins after they had fallen. The accusation is absolutely false and unjust. I was myself present at a council called by the Viceroy Chang Chih-tung to consider

what was to be done against the Jacobinism of Kang Yu-wei who, in the name of the Emperor, was then beginning to pour out reform decrees from Peking. I remember the occasion very well, because it was the first time that the Viceroy had admitted me into the inner Council of his intimate and confidential followers. I had before this taken the liberty of pointing out to the Viceroy, from my personal knowledge of Kang Yu-wei, the baseness of his character and the charlatanry of his schemes. I translated as well as I could to the Viceroy the saying of Dr. Johnson: "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." The Viceroy, however, would not listen and told me that I did not understand Chinese politics. But now when Kang Yu-wei's Jacobinism showed its teeth, the Viceroy remembered me and therefore specially summoned me to the Council of his intimate friends to consider what was to be done. This Council was held on the roof of the Cotton Mill at Wuchang. The Viceroy was very excited. I can still see the old Viceroy walking up and down in the moonlight and repeating: Pu-te-liau! Pu-te-liau! (it is all up! it is all up!) Our Council came to no decision.

I have given the above details in order to make it impossible for people to doubt my testimony on behalf of my old chief against the accusation that he turned upon his friends the Jacobins like the real opportunist and renegade Yuan Shih-kai. But what is still better, perhaps, than even my testimony to disprove this unjust accusation against Chang Chih-tung, is his own famous "Tract," or book, known to foreigners as "Learn" or, as it should be properly translated, "The Need of Education." Foreigners think that this book of Chang Chih-tung's proves his approval of Kang Yu-wei's programme of reform. It does nothing of the kind. This remarkable

book, written immediately after our Council meeting on the roof of the Wuchang Cotton Mill,—was Chang Chih-tung's manifesto against Kang Yu-wei's Jacobinism, and, at the same time, his "Apologia pro vita sua." The manifesto was to warn his followers, and all the literati in China against Kang Yu-wei's method of reform by telling them that all such reform must begin first with education. The "Apologia" is a statement of the reasons which led him to renounce his early strict adherence to the Confucian principles and to favour and advocate the introduction of the methods of Western Civilization.

— 7 —

This famous book of Chang Chih-tung's, like Dr. Newman's equally famous "Apologia," is a most remarkable instance of the curious aberration of the human intellect. According to these two men truth and moral principles of right and wrong are not absolute,—not binding upon all men under all circumstances. For Dr. Newman, as Charles Kingsley has pointed out, "truth for its own sake need not and, on the whole, ought not to be a virtue of the Roman clergy." With Chang Chih-tung, the Confucian principles are true and hold good absolutely for the life of the individual, but not for the life of a nation in modern times. The teaching of Confucius lays it down that men and nations must not set their heart on wealth, power and material prosperity. According to Confucius "a ruler must hold in low estimation the possession of worldly goods, but value moral qualities" (賤貨貴德). But the new learning of modern Europe teaches that the basis of a man's success in life and of a nation's greatness lies in the possession of wealth, power and material prosperity. According to the Rev. Timothy Richard, the most fervent apostle of the new learning

in China, "an education which has no commercial value, is absolutely useless."(*)

Chang Chih-tung, brought face to face with these two contradictory ideals—the ideal of the Confucian teaching and the ideal of the new learning of modern Europe—tried to compromise in a very ingenious way. Chang Chih-tung came to the conclusion that a man must have two sets of moral principles,—one for his individual life and the other for the life of the nation. As individuals, the Chinese must hold and adhere strictly to the Confucian principles, but as a nation, the Chinese must throw the Confucian principles overboard and adopt the ideal of the new learning of modern Europe. In short, according to Chang Chih-tung, the Chinaman individually must remain Chinese, and continue to be the Confucian "superior man," but the Chinese nation,—the State in China—must become European and be a carnivorous animal. In order to prove his thesis, Chang Chih-tung brings out of the great store of his learning, examples from Chinese antiquity in anarchic times, when the Chinese nation did also try to become a nation of carnivorous animals.

Chang Chih-tung justifies this strange and absurd compromise of his by the exigency of the times,—the danger of China and her civilisation surrounded as she

(*)NOTE.—Mencius, when asked by the King of Liang whether he had anything wherewith to further the interests of the country, answered, "Why speak about interests? Let us rather speak of humanity and righteousness." But the modern Christian missionary apostles of the new learning, if asked by the mandarins to tell them of the all-importance of righteousness in Christianity, would answer, "Why speak of righteousness? Let us speak rather of railways and from what country China can make the most advantageous loan." I will take the occasion to say here that I have been present at many interviews which Christian missionaries in China have had with Viceroy, Governors and all classes of mandarins, and yet I have never once heard the all-importance of the righteousness that is in Christianity taken as the topic of conversation. All the talk was about railways, science, finance, medicine, technical education and anti-footbinding.

is by carnivorous nations who recognise no right but might. Therefore for Chang Chih-tung, the patriot and Confucianist, the interests and salvation of the Chinese nation and her civilisation, as for Dr. Newman the interests and preservation of the Roman Catholic Church and Christianity override all principles of morality. In fact, as Dr. Newman loved the beauty and sweetness of Christianity so intensely that in order to save and preserve Christianity which, to him, is embodied in the Roman Catholic Church,—Dr. Newman thinks he is justified, under certain circumstances, to throw away the principles of Christianity; in the same manner Chang Chih-tung, in his intense anxiety for the safety of China and her civilisation, thinks he is obliged to compromise, to throw the Confucian principles overboard, at least as far as the life of the Chinese nation is concerned.

The fact is both Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung, as all the men of the Oxford movement are liable to be, from the inherent weak point in the movement which I have already pointed out,—both these men were extreme idealists, idealists whose intellects were warped by their over-intense idealism. Confucius says, "I know now why there is no real moral life. The wise—in the pride of their intellect,—go too far, and the foolish do not go far enough." But the French Joubert says, "Ignorance, which in matters of morals extenuates the crime, is itself in intellectual matters, a crime of the first order." This method of compromise adopted by Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung leads in morality and religion to Jesuitism and in politics to what is called Machiavellism. Thus although, like Dr. Newman, Chang Chih-tung, as I have shown, is a man of noble character and of the purest motive, yet this Machiavellism taught by Chang Chih-tung to the literati and governing class in China

when adopted by men of less noble and ideal natures than he himself, by men of base and ignoble nature such as Yuan Shih-kai, will do more harm to China than even the vulgarity and corruption of Li Hung-chang.

— 8 —

When the Chinese Court returned to Peking after the Boxer cataclysm, the Chinese government with the consent of the whole Chinese nation was committed to the principle of the Europeanisation of China.—The Japanese war for the first time had brought that terrific monster the intensely materialistic civilisation of Europe to the very door of China and her ancient civilisation. The Chinese literati before the Japanese war wondered at, hated and abhorred this terrific monster, but they still despised it and in a way tried to ignore the possibility of this monster doing much harm to the Chinese people and their civilisation. The monster was far away in Europe, in another continent: the danger therefore was remote. But now after the Japanese war, the only thing which intervened between China and her civilisation and this terrific monster,—the intensely materialistic civilisation of modern Europe—was a little strip of water, the China sea; thereupon an exceedingly great fear fell upon the literati of China. In consequence, wild with fear and excitement, the staunchest conservatives among the Chinese literati with the late Emperor Kwang Hsu were even willing to go along with Kang Yu-wei and the Chinese Jacobins who proposed to bring in the Wooden Horse of the Greeks to the Trojan citadel,—in fact to invoke and call the terrific monster of the materialistic civilisation of modern Europe to come to the aid of the Chinese nation. Against this many voices were raised saying "*Tinco Danaos et dona ferentes!*" Chang Chih-tung,

as we have seen, proposed a compromise. But the proud Manchu Aristocracy rose up and said "No, we will die like men." *Perissons en resistant*. The late Imperial Chancellor Hsu Tung, a Chinese Bannerman and member of the Manchu party, said: "If we must perish, let us perish like good men and true" (要亡麼要亡得正).

In the meantime the scare at the immediate and dreadful possibility of this terrific monster, the materialistic civilisation of modern Europe coming to take possession of China and her civilisation, had driven the common people, the whole peasantry of North China, mad, and they rose up as Boxers to support the Manchu Aristocracy. The late Empress-Dowager tried her best to find a way out of the difficult and complicated situation. But when the news reached Peking that the foreign Admirals had stormed and taken the Taku forts, the Empress-Dowager came to the conclusion "*Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem*," and she gave her consent to the order being given to open fire upon the Legations. Thus the Manchu Aristocracy with the whole peasantry of North China made a mad, desperate supreme effort to drive and push with their bare hands and fists this terrific monster of modern European materialistic civilisation with all foreigners in China into the sea. In this way the Chinese nation made a last and supreme effort with the resources of their own civilisation, with the heroism of the Manchu Aristocracy and the loyalty unto death of the brave Boxer lads, who, as one of Admiral Seymour's officers saw them, rushed up to the very muzzle of modern European guns: the Chinese nation made this supreme and last effort to defend and save the Chinese civilisation and failed. Having made this supreme effort and failed, the Chinese people come to the conclusion—wrongly as I shall show—that the resources of their own civilisation

were insufficient, ineffectual, useless against the destructive forces of the materialistic civilisation of the nations of modern Europe.

— 9 —

Therefore, as I said, when the Chinese Court returned to Peking after the Boxer cataclysm, the Chinese Government with the consent of the whole Chinese nation was committed to the principle of the Europeanisation of China. Now the terribly tragic aspect of the situation in China at the present moment,—I wish particularly to point out here—is that while the whole Chinese nation have made up their minds to throw away their own civilisation and adopt the civilisation of modern Europe, there is not one single educated man in the whole Empire who has the remotest idea of what modern European civilisation really is. Kang Yu-wei and the Chinese Jacobins wanted, as we have seen, to Europeanise China by a single act of transformation, by a single “fiat” of the Emperor. If the late Empress-Dowager had not succeeded in taking the reins of government out of the hands of her nephew, the late Emperor Kwang Hsu, and put down Kang Yu-wei and his Jacobinism with a strong hand—the world would have seen the awful tragedy of the whole Chinese nation behaving like a madman who breaks and smashes all the furniture in his house and pulls down his house, substituting for these, imitation paper furniture and a paper house.

When the late Empress-Dowager returned to Peking after the Boxer cataclysm, she decided to act quite differently. She was determined that neither she herself nor anybody should be allowed to act in the way her nephew, the late Emperor Kwang Hsu, by the bad advice

of Kang Yu-wei and the Chinese Jacobins wanted to act, *i.e.* to reform and Europeanise China by the fiat of his individual will. As a Manchu with her noble Manchu instincts, she personally had no great love for the methods of modern European civilisation. But as a ruler—and in this the late Empress-Dowager showed the consummate greatness of her character and statesmanship—as a ruler, she felt it her duty to bend and bow her personal inclination to the will of the nation. Besides this, the proud Manchu Aristocracy, like herself, with their noble Manchu instincts, also had no great love for modern European methods. It is, I may say here, principally the parvenu compradore class and the baser class of Chinese literati in China with their now coarse middle class Philistine intelligence and less noble instincts as compared with the Manchu Aristocracy—it is the parvenu and the baser Chinese literati in China who hanker after the flesh pots of European civilisation and therefore clamour for the Europeanisation of China. The late Empress-Dowager therefore had to coerce by her great personality the proud, still refractory Manchu Aristocracy to obey the will and mandate of the nation for the Europeanisation of China. But although she was prepared to obey the will of the nation for the Europeanisation of China, the late Empress-Dowager was determined that every single act and measure of reform for the Europeanisation of China should be carried out not by the fiat of any individual will, even of herself, but only with the full and free consent of the whole nation—as represented in China by the Ministers of State and other great Notables in Peking and the Viceroys and Governors in the Provinces. In short the late Empress-Dowager decided that if there must be a revolution in China, which the Europeanisation of China practically and really amounts to, it shall be, as

the great English Duke of Wellington would say, "a revolution by due course of law." (*)

(*) NOTE.—It is very curious that nobody seems to know that the Chinese Government is really and truly a constitutional government. But this, I think, is due to the fact that few people really know that there is a vast difference between a "representative" government and a "constitutional" government. A constitutional government is a government in which the ruler has to carry on the government by and with the consent of the people. A representative government on the other hand is a government in which the ruler not only has to carry on the government by and with the consent of the people, but that consent of the people has to be formally given by the elected representatives of the people. China, it is true, has not and has never had a representative government. But the Chinese government is really and truly a constitutional government in the sense that the government is carried on by and with the consent of the people. Even foreigners know often to their cost that a person in authority in China from the district magistrate up to the Emperor cannot do anything except by and with the consent of the people. The constitution in China, it is true, is a "moral" constitution and not a "legal" constitution. In this sense the Chinese constitution is like the British constitution which is also really more a "moral" constitution than a legal one. By law in China a district magistrate, subject to the ruling of superior officers, is an absolute ruler. But if he breaks the "moral" constitution and does what he likes contrary to the will of the people, he soon gets his yamen pulled down over his head. By law also the Emperor is absolute, but if he breaks the "moral" constitution, there is a rebellion and he loses his throne. In short, the obligation of the people in China to obey the Emperor and the Mandarins is not a "legal" but a "moral" obligation based upon the moral law, the "way of the superior man" of Confucius. Therefore, I say, the constitution in China is a moral constitution (see the *Chung Yung* XX or XVI in my translation called the conduct of life).

But what I wish particularly to point out here is that when people speak of a constitution for China, they should remember that what the Chinese literati now want and clamour for is not a constitutional government, which China already has, but a "representative" government which, I think, the literati ought not to get and, I hope, they will never get; for when once there is representative government in China, the first thing the Chinese literati will do will be to abolish the House of Lords in China,—I mean the Manchu Aristocracy, and with it, the Manchu nobility of character. Foreigners, I wish to say finally here, should "put their money on the right horse in China," as the late Lord Salisbury would say. *Verb. sap.* In fact foreigners who call themselves friends of China should, instead of urging the Chinese to get a constitution, say to the Chinese literati with the French Joubert, "Let your cry be for free souls rather even than for free men. Moral liberty is the one vitally important liberty, the one liberty indispensable. Subordination is in itself a better thing than independence. The one implies

order and arrangement, the other implies self-sufficiency, with isolation." I wonder, however, whether there is one single individual among the crowd of foreigners calling themselves friends of China and taking the credit of bringing enlightenment and civilisation into China, who can translate those words of Joubert which I have quoted, into Chinese. The fact is, I have found from my experience with foreigners who call themselves friends of China and the Chinese, that, as Dr. Johnson said "Patriotism is often the last refuge of a scoundrel," here in China at any rate "Friendship for the Chinese is often the last refuge of a European without a job!"



CHAPTER III.

THE MANCHU RESTORATION.

WHEN after the Japanese war Li Hung-chang who, as we have seen, succeeded the great Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan as the nominal Head or Doyen of the Chinese literati—when Li Hung-chang fell, the Chinese literati were without a leader. In consequence the power in the State in China which, as I have said, at the time of the great Taiping rebellion, passed from the hands of the Manchu Aristocracy into the hands of the Chinese literati, passed back now again into the hands of the Manchu Aristocracy. Yu-lu, the unfortunate Manchu Viceroy who killed himself at Tientsin during the Boxer outbreak, succeeded Li Hung-chang as Viceroy of Chili and Northern Superintendent of Trade. Yu-lu, however, was not the Head or Doyen of the Manchu Aristocracy. The man who became the Doyen of the Manchu Aristocracy was the late Imperial Chancellor Yung-lu. He was the Lord Salisbury of China.

The late Lord Salisbury in England was the last of the England Aristocratic class who not only had the exquisite "politeness" of the English nobility which Carlyle so much admired, but who, in his private and public life, had what Matthew Arnold, speaking of poetry, calls,—the "grand style." In the same manner Yung-lu in China was the last of the Manchu race who had not only the high spirit, dignified manners and, as one often

meets with in well-bred young Manchu lads, the debonair grace of the Manchu gentleman, but also the grand style and ways of a "grand monseigneur"—a great nobleman. The best of the Manchu Aristocracy whom I have seen in Peking at the present day, even the present Prince Regent, have not the "grand style" of Lord Salisbury and Yung-lu. The only other member of the Manchu Aristocracy, besides Yung-lu, within recent times, who had the "grand style" was the late Empress-Dowager. But then the Empress-Dowager was more than merely a great noble-woman or great Lady like the late Queen Victoria of England; she was a noble "great" woman. (*)

But what Bismarck said of the late Lord Salisbury is true also of Yung-lu in China. Bismarck, speaking of Lord Salisbury as a statesman and politician, said: "He is only plaster painted to look like steel." But then Bismarck, like Lord Beaconsfield, had genius. Neither Lord Salisbury nor the Manchu Yung-lu ever pretended to be men of genius. Besides both Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield gave themselves infinite pains to cultivate their minds,—to acquire intellectual culture. On the other hand Lord Salisbury and Yung-lu both only had heroism and nobility of character, good iron or noble metal so to speak, in their blood, but they did not take the trouble, or were too wilful and proud to take the trouble, to refine the noble metal which was in their blood by passing it patiently through the delicate crucible and slow fire of

(*) NOTE.—The Manchu princes and members of the Manchu Aristocracy of the present generation, as a consequence of their life of isolation, all, even men like Na-t'ung and T'ieh-liang, show in their manners a certain awkward stiffness, excessive reserve and want of ease, the "gaucherie" of boys of good families brought up too much at home. They have not the self-confidence and complacency, the *savoir vivre* of men of the world who have mixed in good society and lived in the grand monde.

intellectual culture—in fact to refine the good iron in their blood into hard steel. (*)

In consequence, when both these men, Lord Salisbury, the high-minded English grand seigneur, and Yung-lu, the proud Manchu Aristocrat,—when they were placed in the highest responsible position at a very critical period in the history of their respective countries,—both, instead of ruling the situation, allowed themselves to be ruled by the situation. Lord Salisbury never dreamt of making war upon the Boers in South Africa, much less of annexing the Transvaal. But he allowed things to drift and drift until President Kruger sent the ultimatum; then the hot blood of the great proud Cecils got the better of Lord Salisbury the statesman and politician and he flared up in that magnificent outburst, the memorable speech he made just before the war, which reads like Coriolanus's speech in Shakespeare—

"Measureless liar! thou hast made my heart
Too great for what contains it. Boy! O slave!
Pardon me, lords, 'tis the first time that ever
I was forced to scold."

The result was the Boer war and hell let loose in South Africa for more than two years. In the same way, Yung-lu in China,—as it can one day be proved by telegrams still preserved in the Viceroy's Yamen in

(*) NOTE.—At their first interview Confucius asked one of his disciples, the brave and intrepid Tzu-lu,—the Peter of the Confucian Gospel,—what he liked best. "My long sword," answered the disciple. Confucius then said: "If to your natural gifts, you would add the results of learning or intellectual culture, you would be indeed a very superior man." "Of what advantage would learning or intellectual culture be to me?" asked the disciple. "There is a bamboo on the southern hill which is straight itself without being bent. If you cut it down and use it, you can send it through a rhinoceros's hide; what is the use of learning or what you call intellectual culture?" "Yes," said Confucius, "but if you feather it and point it with steel, will it not penetrate more deeply?"—The disciple bowed twice and said, "I will reverently receive your instructions."

Wuchang—never dreamt of attacking the foreign Legations, much less of driving all foreigners out of China. It would be as true and just to accuse the late Queen Victoria and Lord Salisbury of plotting to make war upon the Boers and annex the Transvaal before the South African war as to accuse the late Empress-Dowager of China and Yung-lu, as foreigners have done, of having conspired treacherously to attack the foreign Legations in Peking and drive all foreigners out of China in the Boxer outbreak. On the contrary, Yung-lu tried his utmost to restrain the pride-stung mad Manchu princes, to protect the foreigners in Peking and to preserve peace, and when Baron Kettler was killed by the undisciplined soldiery of Tung Fu-chiang, Yung-lu, in a heart-breaking telegram of farewell to the Viceroy Chang Chih-tung—sent a cry of despair saying "*Tout est perdu fors l'honneur*"—all is lost, but honour." In fact, like Lord Salisbury, Yung-lu allowed things to drift and drift until the foreign Admirals stormed and took the Taku forts; then the proud blood of the Manchu race in Yung-lu got the better of him and he let go his restraining hand and allowed Prince Tuan with his fanatic Boxers and Tung Fu-chiang with his undisciplined soldiery to have their will. The result was that hell was let loose in North China for a year and a half and the Chinese people now have the pleasure of paying so many millions every year into the exchequer of the foreign nations.

In this way both Lord Salisbury and Yung-lu when put to the test proved themselves to be, as Bismarck said, "only plaster painted to look like steel." Confucius says—"Proud men in old times were distinguished by their power of self-restraint and imperturbability, but pride nowadays merely shows itself in touchiness and

wilfulness of temper." (Confucius Sayings, Chap. XVII, sec. 16.)

— 2 —

When Yung-lu died, shortly after the conclusion of peace and the return of the Court to Peking, Prince Ching succeeded him as the Doyen of the Manchu Aristocracy. Making allowance for the difference in the state of society in China and in England,—Prince Ching is the Mr. A. J. Balfour of China. Like Mr. Balfour, Prince Ching is a great pessimist and therefore a cynic. The unthinking among foreigners as well as Chinese make too much out of the fact that Prince Ching receives presents and money from men under his patronage and protection who make money and get rich in the public service, or, to speak openly, takes bribes. It is, however, not base and vulgar love of money as in the case of Li Hung Chang,—but the cynicism in Prince Ching which makes him have no scruple to accept presents and money from his *protégés* just as the cynicism of the notorious English Sir Robert Walpole made him tolerate and patronise "jobbery" in the England of his time. Sir Robert Walpole said: "Every man has his price." Prince Ching says, "*Après nous, le deluge.*" But then Prince Ching thinks that if a hopeless government in a hopeless world cannot make provision for an old man with a large family all born with expensive tastes, an old man, too, who has worked hard all his life, lost all his property and private fortune and nearly his life to save that hopeless government in a hopeless world,—why, then, he, the old man, must try the best way he can to make provision for himself and his family." If Mr. Balfour of England had lived in the Georgian instead of the Victorian era, his cynicism would have made him

tolerate and patronise "jobbery" exactly as Sir Robert Walpole did. In China Mr. Balfour would receive presents and money from Mr. Chamberlain and his Birmingham friends as Prince Ching receives presents from Yuan Shih-kai and his Cantonese friends. (*)

— 3 —

Emerson says: "We judge of a man's wisdom by the largeness of his hope." I have therefore elsewhere in a book said that pessimism in a man or nation is a sure sign of the unsoundness, defect or deformity of intellect.—Now the Manchu aristocracy in China, like aristocracies in all countries, was originally a military clan or caste and the special profession of a military caste is arms which in primitive societies call for and call out the strength of the body more than the force and fineness of the mind or intellect. The descendants of a military caste therefore, even in later times living under altogether changed conditions of society, do not, as a rule, take kindly to the cultivation of the mind or intellectual culture.

But then without intellectual culture, you cannot have ideas; you cannot understand ideas. What is more, without deep intellectual culture you cannot have true

(*) NOTE.—In the course of my struggle in fighting the mud dragons of the Whangpoo River, I was told by a lawyer of high standing in Shanghai that according to English law it is not illegal for anybody to take bribes except judges and policemen. Foreigners in China hold up their hands in horror when they hear of Chinese Mandarins, men in the public service like a Shanghai Taotai, making money to get rich, and say China must reform. But when a director of a public company in Shanghai and elsewhere who is as much a public servant as the Shanghai Taotai or the Viceroy of Nanking makes money and gets rich by speculating in the shares of his own company, with four aces up his sleeve, Englishmen say: "of course it is immoral, 'it is inconsistent with the highest morality,' but then well, well, it is done every day."

ideas. Again, without ideas you cannot interpret facts. A man without ideas can see a thing, but he cannot see the ideas of the thing, the inward moral quality or spiritual value of the material object. To a peasant without ideas, as Wordsworth says, a primrose by the wayside is a primrose and nothing more. In short, without ideas, a man cannot interpret and see the inside of facts, and without true ideas a man cannot interpret and see the real inside,—the true moral quality and exact spiritual value of facts. (*)

Therefore men of the aristocratic class in a nation, such as the Manchu aristocratic class in China and the upper class in England, because they do not take to

(*) NOTE.—I reproduce here a picture by Sir Frederick Treves, in his book "The Other Side of the Lantern," of Canton, the Birmingham of China, where the friends and *protégés* of the Chinese Joseph Chamberlain, Yuan Shih-kai, and Bret Harte's Ah Sin, the Chinese Cockney, come from:—"Canton is a nightmare city. Everything is strange. The dark ways are cramped and sinister and shut in from the sky. The stench in the air is unbreathable as a gas. The alleys are full of a sallow crowd, some in dingy clothes, some with bare yellow skins. They have shaven heads and grinning teeth. As the terror-stricken man in the dream hurries by like a haunted thing, from lane to lane, they all stare with curious faces. There comes to him a memory of the devilry of the people, of their murderous risings, of their fiendish cruelty."

Thus to this Englishman of the aristocratic class without ideas, a Chinaman in dingy clothes, with a pig-tail and yellow skin, is a Chinaman with a pig-tail and yellow skin and nothing more. The Englishman cannot see through the yellow skin, the inside—the moral quality and spiritual value of the Chinaman. If he could, he would see what a fairy world there is really in the inside of the Chinaman with a pig-tail and yellow skin. He would see among other things Taoism with pictures of fairies and genii, outwining the gods and goddesses of ancient Greece. He would find Buddhism, with its song of infinite sorrow, pity and mercy as sweet, sad and deep as the mystic unfathomable song of Dante. Lastly, he would find Confucianism, with its "way of the superior man" which, little as the Englishman suspects, will one day change the social order and break up the civilization of Europe. But the Englishman without ideas cannot see all this. To him a Chinaman with a yellow skin and a pig-tail is a Chinaman with a yellow skin and a pig-tail and nothing more.

intellectual culture, have as a rule no ideas and are incapable of understanding ideas; they in consequence, cannot interpret facts. But facts in life are like the riddles of the Egyptian Sphinx which, unless they are rightly interpreted, will devour up men and nations.—Men living in an old established order of society and civilisation and in times of peace are not necessarily called upon to interpret for themselves the facts surrounding them in their life—the society of men and women, the modes and habits of life of the established social order and civilisation. These facts have already been interpreted and there is no absolute necessity for men to interpret them again for themselves. But when living in times of revolution and expansion,—such as men are now living in China as in Europe—when civilisation meets and clashes with civilisation and old social orders and modes and habits of life of a nation are liable to get smashed up like crockery in an earthquake,—in such times, men are suddenly brought face to face with new facts which they have to interpret rightly or the new facts, like the Egyptian Sphinx, will devour them up, them, their social order and their civilisation.

In such times we find men of noble nature with intellectual culture like Chang Chih-tung among the literati in China and Dr. Newman and Gladstone of the middle class in England who have ideas and are capable of understanding ideas—these men make sincere and heroic efforts to interpret the new facts of the new era. But because their intellectual culture is a superficial and not a deep intellectual culture, and their ideas are not true, but false half ideas,—they cannot rightly interpret, but make a false and altogether wrong interpretation of the new facts. Finding that their wrong interpretation cannot save them, they turn round and try to compromise: to

save themselves by an extreme false idealism. The extreme false idealism of men like Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung, as I have shown, makes men in religion and morality to become Jesuits and, in politics,—Machiavellists.

Men of the aristocratic class, on the other hand, in a new era of revolution and expansion, who, because they are without intellectual culture, have no ideas and are incapable of understanding ideas,—cannot interpret the new facts at all. Men of the aristocratic class, like Prince Tuan and the mad Manchu princes and nobles in the Boxer outbreak in China, instead of trying to interpret the new facts of modern European civilisation,—make heroic and supreme efforts to fight and drive away the new hard facts—the terrible materialistic appliances of modern European civilisation, such as repeating rifles and maxim guns, with their bare fists and hands with all the heroism and nobility of character of the Manchu race. But these new hard facts, like the Egyptian Sphinx, refuse of course to be overcome and driven away in that way. Therefore when men of the aristocratic class in a new era of revolution and expansion, after fighting with all their heroism and nobility of character against the new hard facts of the new era, instead of being able to overcome and drive away these new hard facts,—they only find themselves terribly hard knocked by the new facts—they after a while refuse to fight any more. They then take out their handkerchiefs and wipe away the perspiration from their brows saying, "What a beastly nuisance! It's no earthly use fighting against these beastly things which a fellow can never understand. Well, well, if we are going to be devoured up, we will be devoured up. What is the odds? Fifty years hence we will all be dead. In the meantime let us make the best of this hopeless life in a hopeless

universe." In this way, we can understand how men like Prince Ching in China and Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. A. J. Balfour in England become pessimists and from being pessimists they become cynics. The cynicism of Sir Robert Walpole made him tolerate and patronise "jobbery." The cynicism of Mr. Balfour makes him tolerate Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, patronise and protect men like Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jamieson in South Africa. The cynicism of Prince Ching in China makes him say, "*Après nous, le deluge*," and accept presents and money from Yuan Shih-kai and his Cantonese friends.

— 4 —

In this way we find it is true what I have said that pessimism in a man or nation is a sure sign of the unsoundness, defect or deformity of intellect. Men like Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung with superficial and not deep intellectual culture, who have half ideas and not true ideas, when brought face to face with the new facts of a new era of revolution and expansion become extreme idealists or, as Napoleon would call them, idealogues, and from being extreme idealists or idealogues, they become Jesuits and Machiavellists. Jesuitism and Machiavellism, however, is but another and veiled form of pessimism and cynicism. Men like Prince Ching and Mr. Balfour, on the other hand, without even superficial intellectual culture, who have no ideas and cannot understand ideas, become outright pessimists and cynics.

As the noble nature in men of the middle class like Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung saves them from the serious consequences of their wrong theories of life: the result of their extreme false idealism, so the heroism and nobility of character in men of the aristocratic class like Prince Ching and Mr. Balfour save them also from the

consequences of their pessimism and cynicism: the result of their extreme materialism. Thus although Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung were Jesuits and Machiavellists in theory, yet their own lives belie their theories for they actually lived, in spite of their theories, disinterested and noble lives. In the same way, although Prince Ching and Mr. Balfour are in theory extreme materialists, and in consequence become pessimists and cynics, yet in actual life Mr. Balfour is an amiable pessimist and Prince Ching a good natured cynic. Mr. Balfour, I believe, is adored by his friends in England. Prince Ching in China, I was told when I was in Peking, is worshipped by his servants and dependents.

But here I think it necessary to say—and the point is very important—that although the wrong theories of men like Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung do not actually do much harm to their own moral lives in the same way as the bad practice of men like Prince Ching with his cynical way of providing for himself and his family and Mr. Balfour with his tolerance of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and men like Cecil Rhodes,—is not a very great discredit to their noble nature, in fact in the case of Mr. Balfour, is a credit to his noble good nature,—yet these wrong theories of life of Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung and the bad practice of Prince Ching and Mr. Balfour have done and in the end will do infinite,—no end of harm to the world,—to the civilisation of the world. For Jesuitism and Machiavellism makes a true moral life in men and nation impossible. Pessimism and cynicism make a true intellectual life impossible and without a true intellectual life, a true moral life is impossible. Confucius says: “I know now why there is no real moral life. The wise mistake moral law to be something higher than it really is; and the foolish do not try to know what moral law

is.—I know now why the moral law is not understood. The noble natures try to live too high and ignoble natures do not live high enough." ("The Chungyung or the Universal Order," sec. IV.)

— 5 —

As the people in England have their "King" Lansdowne, so we in China have our "King" Tieh-liang. Tieh-liang is the *bête noire* of the Chinese reformers and revolutionists as Lord Lansdowne is the *bête noire* of the Radicals and Socialists in England. The Chinese revolutionists have good reason to hate the Munchu Tieh-liang as the Socialists in England have good reason to hate their "King" Lansdowne, because the type of man like Lord Lansdowne and Tieh-liang is not only a "King," but a Tsar,—a terrible Tsar who is sent by Providence, whose special mission is, "*pour arrêter les lâches et les coquins*," to arrest sneaks and cads, all disorderly and anarchic persons, to put down all disorder and anarchism in the world. In fact, these two men, Lord Lansdowne in England and the Manchu Tieh-liang in China, are a type of the coming terrible Superman in Europe certainly and perhaps even in China, who, unless the people in Europe and we here in China quickly mend our ways and reform,—will come with something more terrible than the terrible "blood and iron" of Prince Bismarck and not only "reform" us with a vengeance, but also "deform" us and all civilisation—all that is valuable in civilisation, sweetness, beauty and even intelligence, into an unrecognisable shape. The people of modern Europe have never seen the true awful terrific face of this terrible Superman. We Chinese in China some two thousand years ago saw the awful terrific face of this terrible

Superman and our Chinese literati now to this day shudder at the very remembrance of his name. His name in China was Tsin Shih Huang-ti, the Emperor who built the great wall. This terrible Superman of whom Lord Lansdowne in England and the Manchu Tieh-liang in China are but weak types and the famous Chinese Emperor, the strong and true type,—this terrible Superman,—the coming man in Europe and perhaps in China—represents "*la force en attendant le droit*." He is the God of the Jews in the Old Testament and of the modern Englishmen without ideas in England. The Greeks called him Rhadamanthus or Nemesis. Among the Romans he was called Pontius Pilate, who asked what is truth? and who crucified the Divine Man of Nazareth equally with Barrabas the Robber.

People in modern Europe now call this Superman "Policeman." The "Policeman" in Europe and also now in China, unless the people in Europe cease to be, and we Chinese in China refuse to become either carnivorous animals or Englishmen without ideas,—this "Policeman" representing "*la force en attendant le droit*" will grow and grow until he becomes the supreme terrible Superman who will one day crush and destroy all civilisation, all that is valuable in civilisation, and, making a desert, call it—order. (*)

(*) NOTE.—The ratepayers of Shanghai should bethink themselves: otherwise the "Policeman"—the spirit of the policeman I mean,—will grow bigger and bigger until he will want all the land in the settlement to build a barrack for himself and the poor ratepayers, everybody who is not a policeman, will not have a house even to live in, unless of course the Shanghai volunteers choose to march to the Taotai's yamen or even to Nanking to force "*vi et armis*" the Taotai or the Nanking Viceroy to give them the whole province of Kiangsu for settlement extension. Thinking Englishmen should remember General Gordon's words: "An unsatisfied people means more troops." More troops or more police mean more money out of the ratepayer's pocket. *Verb. Sap.*

— 6 —

Now there are only three ways by which men with any nobility of nature in them, but without true intellectual culture, who live in anarchic times of revolution and periods of transition, can save themselves from becoming maniacs who blow out their own brains or anarchists who blow out the brains of others with dynamite bombs. Men like Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung, as we have seen, who have more learning or intellectual culture than native intelligence or common sense,—save themselves from madness by throwing away their common sense and become extreme false idealists: become Jesuits and Machiavellists. Jesuits and Machiavellists are men who, by a false extreme idealism, taking the form in the one case of religious enthusiasm and in the other of fervid, false patriotism, while they are actually ruining their moral natures by practising deception upon themselves and others—deceive themselves that they thereby save and preserve the nobility of their nature. Men again like Prince Ching in China and Mr. Balfour in England who have more native intelligence or common sense than learning or intellectual culture, when living in anarchic times, save themselves from madness by throwing away their learning or intellectual culture as well as their nobility of nature,—throw away the “moral law” and become pessimists and cynics. Pessimists are men who throw away, distort or deform their intellect. Cynics are men who, after they have thrown away their nobility of nature, throw away the “moral law.” But pessimists and cynics, while they are actually throwing away their nobility of nature,—throw away the moral law—think they save their nobility of nature, save the moral law by being frank and straight and not,—like the Jesuits and Machiavellists, practising deception upon themselves and

others. Pessimists and cynics frankly say: "*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor.*" They excuse themselves by saying with Shakespeare's Portia: "If to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels had been churches and poor men's cottages, prince's palaces." But then Voltaire says: "*C'est la malheur des gens honnêtes qu'ils sont des lâches.*" It is the misfortune of good people that they are cowards."

Lastly men like Lord Lansdowne in England and the Manchu Tieh-liang in China who have neither native intelligence or common sense nor learning or intellectual culture, but only heroism and nobility of character,—such men when living in anarchic times, save themselves from madness by becoming idiots. They become blind cyclops, who have force, but no eyes—no intelligence whatever. But the force of men like Lord Lansdowne and the Manchu Tieh-liang who are moral Cyclops,—is a "true" force and therefore it is a moral power. People who abuse Carlyle and say he is immoral because he worships force, do not know that all "true" force is moral—is a moral power. All true force is constructive and therefore it is moral. False or untrue force, weakness pretending or mistaking itself to be strength, as "plaster painted to look like steel"—because when put to the test, it fails you, is destructive and therefore immoral. All true force is constructive because all true force always seeks to establish order, and even when it destroys, because it is necessary often to destroy in order to construct,—all true force destroys only to construct,—to establish order. (*)

(*) NOTE.—True militarism or even war which is a true force, is not immoral. But Jingoism or false militarism such as the present competition in Europe now for building Dreadnoughts and keeping men with expensive tastes wearing red collars to keep "peace" which, in China, as we know, means the upholding of the "divine right" of treaties and paying expensive

The blind force—force without intelligence of men like Lord Lansdowne and the Manchu Tieh Liang—is a great and true moral power, because men like Lord Lansdowne and Tieh Liang have self-restraint. A disciple of Confucius asked him to define a true moral life. Confucius answered: “A true moral life consists in having self-restraint (克己) and guiding that self-restraint by the sense of propriety—the sense of what is proper and fit.” The fanaticism, therefore or noble madness of Prince Tuan and his Boxers in China and of the suffragettes in England—is true but not sound strength or force, because Prince Tuan and his Boxers and the English suffragettes have not sufficient self-restraint. The Manchu women, I may say here, among the poor Manchu families in Peking and elsewhere—and I may incidentally add here, the Japanese women—all these noble women suffer more cruelly, in trying to keep their nobility of nature in these anarchic times, than even the women Suffragettes in England. But these our women in China, especially the Manchu women and the women in Japan, do not shriek or struggle with policemen; they

visits to the late Empress-Dowager to show their “sincere friendship” for her, not however by kissing her on the cheek or shaking her by the hand, but by flourishing the dreadful Dreadnoughts before her face and the faces of her starving people living on the banks of the Yangtze Kiang: Jingoism, I say, such as the false militarism of modern Europe which is not true force, but rotten anarchic force—is immoral. The true militarism of Gustavus Adolphus, of Oliver Cromwell and of Frederick the Great is not immoral, because the result of those militarisms brought, as we know, lasting peace, a better social order and prosperity to the people of Europe. But the Jingoism or false militarism of Louis Napoleon, is immoral; the result was *la Débacle* and Commune in Paris. The Jingoism or false militarism of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain is immoral: the result has brought, instead of peace and prosperity, women Suffragettes, who shriek and struggle with policemen in England. The Jingoism of Admiral Alexeieff, as even the people of Shanghai should know, has brought—among other things—bad trade and hard times in Shanghai.

only silently protest with their pale faces, wan eyes and hollow cheeks, and when a stranger passes by them or attempts to speak to them, these pale faces too weary to be proud and too sad to be sweet, turn away with averted eyes in silent dignity—

*"Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat,
Nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,
Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes."*

Any Englishman who wants to understand the fanatic fury of the "Boxer" movement in China, should walk through the poor Manchu quarter in Peking or Nanking and see there the wrecks of human beings who should be fine noble women, then, if he is a thinking man and has the least spark of nobility of nature in him, he will be ashamed of having spoken of the "fiendish" cruelty of the Chinese or Manchus. In short, these Chinese and Manchu women and, I say also, the women in Japan, because they are truly strong, have true moral force; these women have self-restraint and the imperturbability of the proud men in ancient times which Confucius speaks of—more self-restraint than the modern even if equally suffering, certainly less strong women in England who shriek and struggle with policemen.

— 7 —

But to return. Although the Manchu Tieh-liang, like Lord Lansdowne, has not the "grand style" of Yung-lu and Lord Salisbury, yet Tieh-liang like Lord Lansdowne—because they both have self-restraint,—is exempt from the particular weakness of Lord Salisbury and Yung-lu: their extreme touchiness and wilfulness of temper. Tieh-liang, like Lord Lansdowne, is distinguished for his imperturbability, which is a great and valuable quality to have in times of revolution and national upheaval.

To borrow Bismarck's metaphor, if Yung-lu like Lord Salisbury is plaster painted to look like steel, Tieh-liang like Lord Lansdowne is cement—hard cement. Further to extend the metaphor: men like Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung in times of revolution and expansion,—with their extreme false idealism, become “gas”; men, like Prince Ching and Mr. Balfour with their extreme materialism, become “mud”; but men like Tieh-liang and Lord Lansdowne who do not even understand what idealism or materialism means, with only their heroism and nobility of character, become hard and pure cement. Now cement is a very useful material to have for the foundation of a house; it is a material which is invaluable for resisting the shocks of wind, storm and floods to prevent and ensure the house from a sudden and total collapse. But when circumstances compel you to alter and enlarge your house, the material made of cement in the house, is not only useless, but will prove unmanageable, inservient for your purpose, and in case of an earthquake, even dangerous to the house and to all in the house.

But to speak without metaphor, men in a nation, like the Manchu Tieh-liang in China and Lord Lansdowne in England, with their bigoted, but strong sense of honour and duty, with their rigid but true integrity, with their love of order, their courage, “moral hardness,” power of haughty resistance, and above all, their imperturbability,—

*Si fractus illabitur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae—*

such men in times of national upheaval are invaluable for the negative purpose of resisting and preventing the rapid demoralisation and total destruction of national moral character and utter collapse of society and civilisation which the extreme false idealism of men like

Dr. Newman and Chang Chih-tung cannot prevent whilst the pessimism and cynicism of men like Prince Ching in China and Mr. Balfour in England only tend to accelerate and make worse.

— 8 —

In fact, men like Lord Lansdowne and the Manchu Tieh-liang are the modern Puritans: such men, Tieh-liang in China and Lord Lansdowne in England—and not men like even Chang Chih-tung, or "*horresco referens*," Mr. W. T. Stead in England and the Rev. Griffith John of Hankow,—are the true Puritans of the modern civilisation. But these modern Puritans are Puritans without a God. Their God, at any rate, is, as I have said, like the God of the Jews in the Old Testament. The God of the modern Puritans, men like Lord Lansdowne and the Manchu Tieh-liang, is—Honour and Duty. They do not know nor recognise the attributes of the God of the New Testament: Love and mercy. When Mercy pleads with the modern Puritans for a truer moral law, the law of a higher court than even the court of Honour and Duty, "to be lenient to sinners, considerate to evil doers and law breakers, and to be human even to the inhuman,"—when Mercy thus pleads, the modern Puritans answer: "Our God is a jealous God and we must play the game." Even Love—with the pale face, wan eyes and hollow cheeks of the Manchu women we have seen—pleads in vain with the modern Puritans like Tieh-liang and Lord Lansdowne. When Love thus pleads, the modern Puritans answer with softened but relentless voice:

I could not love thee, Dear, so much,
Loved I not Honour more.

Thus the modern Puritans are determined to play the game. Tieh-liang in China is determined at all costs to

organise a strong navy for China and Lord Lansdowne to go on building Dreadnoughts, while in the meantime in China the pale faces of the Manchu women grow paler and their hollow cheeks became hollower and in England the women Suffragettes shriek and struggle with policemen until they either lose all their womanhood or die. The modern Puritans thus will play the game until a cry will be heard in modern Europe, in the modern world as the same cry was heard in the ancient world in Europe when they crucified the Divine Man of Nazareth in Judea two thousand years ago—the cry: “Pan is dead!” In short, like the old Puritans, the modern Puritans like Tieh-liang and Lord Lansdowne by being too rigidly moral and over-moral, run the risk of being immoral, of making morality and civilisation impossible.

Therefore for the positive work of expansion and reconstruction, the work of expanding the mind of a nation to understand the new facts of a new era and of practically meeting and dealing with these new facts, for this positive work, men like Tieh-liang in China and Lord Lansdowne in England are, of course, worse than useless. Nay, even for the work of inspiration which, as I have said, is the special function of the Manchu Aristocracy in the organism of the social body in China, to do ; for this work, too, men like Tieh-liang and Lord Lansdowne are too rigidly moral. Their nobility of character, like a fine flower, the chrysanthemum in late autumn growing under a cold dark sky, shut out from the light of the sun,—is too cold, too colourless and without warmth, to be able to touch men’s hearts, warm their feelings, and fire them with enthusiasm. For the purpose of inspiring the work of national expansion—for the purpose of inspiration, to set a nation on fire with enthusiasm so that the soul of the nation may expand to

bear and receive new ideas—you want men and women of noble natures with love, with strong passions, who are themselves capable of enthusiasm, capable of fanaticism—men like Prince Tuan and his Boxers in China or the women Suffragettes in England who shriek and struggle with policemen really and truly, as a lady friend from Scotland writing to me lately says, “not so much for themselves as for their poorer and over-driven sisters.” (*)

Confucius says: If I cannot find men of true moderation and sanity of mind to deal with, I would, if compelled to, get fanatics and bigots. Fanatics will do something and make progress and there are certain things which bigots would not do. (Sayings of Confucius, Chap. xiii., sec. 21.)

— 9 —

If Tieh-liang is the strongest and best type, Tuan-fang is the weakest and worst type at present of the Manchu aristocracy in China. Tuan-fang is the Lord Rosebery of China. Lord Rosebery in England again as well as the Manchu Tuan-fang in China is the same type of man as the famous or infamous Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the Zimri of Dryden's satire—

“A man so various that he seemed to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome.”

Indeed, Dryden's merciless portraiture of the weak, fickle, faithless, clever Duke of Buckingham,—making

(*) NOTE.—The “man in the street” in England to-day, the pessimist and cynic without noble nature, who is responsible for what the French with their finer and more delicate feeling call “*la brutalité des journaux anglais*” which they cannot understand,—the man in the street in England, instead of thinking justly and dealing humanely with the “women Boxers” or Suffragettes now in England, shows his ignoble cynicism or petty vulgar spite by throwing coarse and funny names against these poor over-driven noble mad women exactly in the same way as a leading English newspaper in Shanghai used to call the “aristocratissime” woman in China the late Empress Dowager—a “slave girl.”

allowance for difference in time and state of society,—
 applies as well also to these two modern public men,
 Lord Rosebery in England and the Manchu Tuan-fang
 in China, that I make no apology for copying out here
 the whole of Dryden's admirable lines—

A man so various that he seemed to be
 Not one, but all mankind's epitome.
 Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
 Was everything by starts, and nothing long ;
 But, in the course of one revolving moon,
 Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon.

* * *

Railing and praising were his usual themes,
 And both, to show his judgment, in extremes.
 In squandering wealth was his peculiar art.
 Nothing went unrewarded but desert.
 Beggared by fools, whom still he found too late,
 He had his jest and they had his estate.
 He laughed himself from Court, then had relief
 By forming parties, but could ne'er be chief.

What William Johnson Cory, Lord Rosebery's Eton tutor, said of the young Lord Dalmeny, as Lord Rosebery was called when he was at school, is true also of the Manchu Tuan-fang in China. William Cory said of Dalmeny, or Lord Rosebery, that he "wanted the palm without the dust." Now a man who wants the palm without the dust, who, living in anarchic times, wants to achieve success in life, wants advancement, position, honour, fame, and glory, without hard work and struggle, without fighting "until the knuckles grow white"—such a man cannot have principles. Confucius says, "Good, honest men and true, it has not been given me to see, but if I could find a man with principles, I would be satisfied. But in a state of society in which men must pretend to possess what they really do not possess; pretend to have plenty when they really have nothing;

pretend to be in affluence when they are really in actual want,—in such a state of society it is difficult to be a man of principles."

The Manchu Tuan-fang, when as a young man he began his career as a department-secretary, belonged to the "smart set" in Peking. There were in Peking some twenty years ago, three young secretaries in the State-Departments, who were notorious for their life of dissipation and extravagance. Old women in the gay singing-girls' houses in Peking, to this day remember and speak of Ta-Yung, Siao-Na, and Tuan Lau-sze. Ta-Yung or Big Yung was Yung-chuan, (榮銓) the Provincial Judge in Chekiang at the time of the Boxer outbreak, who was put in the black list by the Foreign Diplomats, and banished. Siao-Na or Little Na was Na-tung, now the President and head of the Waiwupu. Lastly, Tuan Lau-sze, or Master Tuan No. IV, is now Tuan-fang, the Viceroy of Chili, and Northern Superintendent of Trade in Tientsin. These three young Manchu aristocrats, beginning their careers as department-secretaries then in Peking, who "daffed the world aside and bade it pass,"—were looked upon by the older men in Peking in the same way as Lord Rosebery was regarded by William Cory, as "portentously wise youths, not, however, deficient in fun." In short, Tuan-fang, as I said when he began his career, belonged to the *creme* of the "smart set" in Peking.

Now, to belong to a smart set, you cannot, and must not, have principles or religion, for all smart sets in Peking as well as in Shanghai, Paris, or London—have no principles except the principle that every man must look out for himself to the main chance; to know on which side the bread is buttered. All smart sets, further,

have no religion except the "religion of pleasure." But the religion of pleasure even with the principle of smartness to look out to the main chance, very soon ends generally, unless a man happens to be unusually lucky like Lord Rosebery in England to marry a millionaire's daughter,—the religion of pleasure, I say, as a rule, very soon ends in bankruptcy, not only of health, character, and reputation, but what modern men, and especially men of the smart set, fear even more than going to the burning lake,—bankruptcy in hard cash. Accordingly, we find Tuan-fang, the young Manchu department-secretary, who belonged to the *creme* of the fast smart set in Peking, with his religion of pleasure, after a few years of dissipation and extravagance, about the time of the Japanese War, if not actually, yet practically, bankrupt in hard cash. Thus bankrupt Tuan-fang, the young Manchu aristocrat, did what aristocratic men of the smart set in London or Paris usually do under the circumstances,—Tuan-fang tried to sell or pawn his prestige as an aristocrat, in fact to convert the prestige or *la creme* of his connection with the smart set in Peking into hard cash. In other words, in order to coin or sponge hard cash, Tuan-fang formed connections and made friends with men of finance—bankers and compradores, to whom of course the prestige of an aristocrat like Tuan-fang, who, besides, belonged to the smart set,—was not only a desirable and coveted ornament but a valuable business asset. In fact, Tuan-fang became the patron and bosom friend of such men as the late notorious Wu Tiao-ching, compradore of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank in Tientsin. Indeed, Tuan-fang even actually opened banks, or lent his name to these banks, in Tientsin. I may mention here that when, after the Boxer outbreak, these banks failed, Tuan-fang, who was then Governor of

Hupei, impudently refused to meet his liabilities, and when his creditors sold their debit notes to an American citizen in Tientsin, Tuan-fang got the late Mr. Conger, U.S. Minister in Peking, to stop the American from interfering.

— 10 —

But after the Japanese War, a better way even than hobnobbing with and sponging hard cash from compradores and Li Hung-chang's German Jew doggerly, in Tientsin,—a better way was opened to Tuan-fang to save himself, from bankruptcy in hard cash. For at this time Li Hung-chang had fallen and Kang Yu-wei and other Chinese Radicals had risen with their fierce and violent Jacobinism, Tuan-fang, the bankrupt Manchu aristocrat, as well as the then bankrupt "*parvenu*" Yuan Shih-kai, returned from Korea,—joined hands with the Radicals and Jacobins and espoused the cause of Kang Yu-wei's reform. As a reward, Tuan-fang, by the Reform Decree of the late Emperor Kwang-hsu—Tuan-fang together with Wu, the above-mentioned ex-compradore of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank in Tientsin, was given the rank of a household Minister, or Lord of the third grade, and appointed Administrator-General of Trade and Agriculture. But when, soon after, Kang Yu-wei fell, and members of his party were sent to the block, Tuan-fang was not at all nonplussed but with the slimness and effrontery of the men of the smart set—Tuan-fang turned completely round and took to what Dr. Johnson called the last refuge of a scoundrel—patriotism. In fact, Tuan-fang, immediately after Kang Yu-wei fell, and the late Empress-Dowager took the reins of Government into her hands,—composed a patriotic song or doggerel verses in colloquial Chinese praising the late

Empress-Dowager and her glorious reign to the skies. In this way Tuan-fang saved himself from the serious consequences of his connection with Kang Yu-wei's party and their Jacobinism.

But notwithstanding this, Peking became too hot a place for the bankrupt Manchu aristocrat with patriotism as a last refuge. Tuan-fang therefore intrigued and by backstairs influence obtained the appointment of Provincial Judge in Shensi, and was shortly after promoted Provincial Treasurer of the same province. When the Boxer outbreak came, Tuan-fang was Acting Governor in Shensi. At the first explosion of the Boxer outbreak, when the false rumour was circulated that the Boxers had got the better and exterminated Admiral Seymour's relieving corps of marines, Tuan-fang in Shensi sent a telegram of triumph and exultation to the late Viceroy Chang Chih-tung in Wuchang, advising him to blow up and destroy Hankow and all the Yangtse treaty ports, so as to cut off all supplies from foreigners and their warships in Shanghai. Chang Chih-tung had to send a very sharp telegram to the young would-be patriot Manchu Governor telling him that the situation was too serious for such fooling and nonsense and that he had better look to the keeping of order in his province. Tuan-fang, with his usual smartness, at once took the hint and immediately turned round again, and tried not only to protect the missionaries in Shensi but even fulsomely to curry favour with them.

From Shensi Tuan-fang was transferred to the Governorship of Hupeh, and from that time Tuan-fang dropped his patriotism, which did not pay so well, and took up something which paid better—friendship for foreigners, especially for all foreigners who are somebody with a capital S. But sometimes Tuan-fang also took to

friendship for foreigners without a job whose last refuge is friendship for the Chinese, and who, *pour avoir de quoi vivre*, will endure and admire the bad insulting manners and ill-natured jests and jeers of a bankrupt Manchu aristocrat because he is a Viceroy. Tuan-fang, I may say here, is the only high Manchu official I have known in China who has not only bad but shocking manners. The late Chang Chih-tung, in his detestation of the Manchu Tuan-fang, once in Wuchang, I remember, tried to imitate the halting limping gait of Tuan-fang, and gnashing his teeth said, "And this man is now become a Governor of a province!" But that is neither here nor there. Tuan-fang, also, however, often found to his cost that he gained nothing from his friendship for foreigners of the latter sort. I mean, foreigners without a job. In fact what Dryden says of the Duke of Buckingham is true also of Tuan-fang with his foreign friends—

Beggared by fools whom still he found too late,
He had his jest and they had his estate.

At any rate, Tuan-fang has his fads and his foreign friends who are not fools, but acute Americans—to flatter his fads for old China and Egyptian antiquities and to support him even through the mud of the Whangpoo Conservancy; and while Tuan-fang has his fads, his acute Americans and other foreign friends get a good income as subsidy or some other form of squeeze from the Chinese Government Treasury.

I need not, however, follow Tuan-fang further in his official career. Everybody knows that Tuan-fang by showing friendship for foreigners got himself appointed as one of the five Imperial Commissioners who were sent abroad to study Constitution in Europe and America. Study of Constitution as well as friendship for foreigners was with Tuan-fang not an end but only a means to the

main chance. The main chance in this case was the Viceroyalty of Nanking. Accordingly, when Tuan-fang returned from abroad he got his main chance and became Viceroy at Nanking. While at Nanking, Tuan-fang, like Lord Rosebery, became an Imperialist. As with Lord Rosebery so it is with the Manchu Tuan-fang—Imperialism means dreaming *great* things and doing nothing but, like Joseph Surface, talking high and fine sentiments and spending money lavishly. It was this spirit of empty Imperialism which made Tuan-fang establish at great cost a special school in Nanking for educating Chinese boys born in Java and other Dutch colonies. It was this same empty dreaming Imperialism without conscience which made Tuan-fang, while the population under his rule was actually starving or living on the verge of starvation, plan and lay out a fine public park with a menagerie consisting of two lion cubs—at a cost of nearly a million taels! In fact Tuan-fang has never changed from what he was, from the time when he was a member of the fast smart set in Peking till now when he is a powerful Viceroy responsible for the well-being of many million human beings. Tuan-fang never forgot or lost his peculiar art in squandering wealth. As he bankrupted himself in his young days, so he has brought to the verge of bankruptcy every province over which he has held rule,—Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsu and Nanking, or the two Kiangs. The Chinese literati in Shanghai nickname him H.E. “Insolvency”—Chai-shuai (債帥). They also give him the name which a Shanghai weekly gave to our honoured fellow citizen and Secretary of the R. A. Society in Shanghai Dr. John C. Ferguson. The Chinese literati also call Tuan-fang “The Resourceful” (應變有方).

It is true that the late Chang Chih-tung also spent the public money lavishly. But then Chang Chih-tung personally himself lived austere. There was not a shabbier or more poorly furnished yamen in all China than the Viceroy's Yamen in Wuchang while Chang Chih-tung was Viceroy there. I may be pardoned for taking pride in saying here that we all, too, who served under Chang Chih-tung had to live austere like our chief. My old friend and colleague in Wuchang, Liang Tun-yuen, who is now the President of the Waiwupu, when he was obliged to receive a visit from Sheng Hsuan-huai, then Director of Railways, and the richest member of Li Hung-chang's oligarchy,—had to throw over a red common blanket to cover the broken dilapidated "kang" or Chinese sofa he had in his guest-room.

But with the Manchu Tuan-fang and the men who serve under him it is quite different. In squandering the public money lavishly for what they call Imperialism, Tuan-fang and the men under him think it their duty to live sumptuously *pour encourager les autres*. Tuan-fang with his Imperialism *dreams* to make the Chinese nation rich and prosperous, and the best way to do that, Tuan-fang thinks, is to show the nation a good example by becoming or living no matter how, as a rich and prosperous man himself. In fact, as the late Chang Chih-tung, as we have seen, held the curious untenable theory that while the Chinese individually must adhere strictly to the Confucian principles and try to be the true Confucian superior men, the Chinese nation,—the state in China, must throw the Confucian principles overboard and become carnivorous animals; so Tuan-fang, and men like him in China, hold the still more curious theory that while the Chinese nation must adhere to the Confucian principles, the individuals in the Chinese nation may

throw the Confucian principles overboard and look only to the main chance so as to win the palm without the dust,—may achieve success in life without a conscience. In one word, a man who calls himself Imperialist in modern times, like Lord Rosebery in England and the Manchu Tuan-fang in China, is like the ungracious pastor of whom Shakespeare's Ophelia, speaks—

Who shows men the steep and thorny way to heaven,
Whiles, like a puff'd and reckless libertine,
Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,
And recks not his own rede.

— 11 —

But to sum up. Tuan-fang is a Manchu aristocrat with his Manchu heroism and nobility of character all in ruins. When I was in Peking two years ago, I heard one of his secretaries say to the late Chang Chih-tung : If the Government were to hold an examination and offer a prize for men without conscience, among the Governors and Viceroys in China, the Viceroy Tuan-fang would get the first prize. The old Chang Chih-tung thereupon smiled a fierce hard smile and nodded his assent. In fact, Tuan-fang with his consciencelessness has done more to demoralise the public service in China within recent times than any high official except Yuan Shih-kai. To be just, Tuan-fang is a much better man than Yuan Shih-kai. Tuan-fang has or has had heroism and nobility of character in his blood. But the *parvenu* Yuan Shih-kai has never had anything in him but esuriency, cleverness, and cunning,—what Carlyle calls vulpine intelligence, intelligence without delicacy and sweetness or common sense sharpened by appetite. In the case of the Manchu Tuan-fang, the ruins of the Manchu heroism and nobility of character in him have made him suffer, like Lord Rosebery, terribly from "insomnia," whereas in the case

of men of altogether base and ignoble nature, like Yuan Shih-kai, a life without conscience, even of self-indulgence and debauchery, only makes them grow fat, oily and squat. The worst harm, however, which men like Tuan-fang, who are at bottom really not base and ignoble men, but whose moral nature has been sapped and ruined by thoughtless, wanton and wilful self-indulgence,—the worst harm such men do to a nation is that while such men are put in high position of responsibility, the parasites, the vilest elements in the nation, will gather and crowd round such men like ants or baccilli upon a rotten piece of flesh and prey not only upon these weak men themselves, but upon the moral as well as the material vitals of the national life. When Tuan-fang recently left Nanking for the North, a Chinese scholar and poet published anonymously in a Shanghai paper some very fierce verses saying, among other things, that while Tuan-fang was Viceroy in Nanking, all the unclean animals, rats and foxes made their holes there. (狐鼠都來穴建康). In short, the worst of men like Tuan-fang in China and Lord Rosebery in England, when they become Prime Ministers or Viceroys, is that, as Dryden says of the Duke of Buckingham—

In squandering wealth was his peculiar art,
Nothing went unrewarded, but desert.

Confucius says, "A person who tries to put on the air of a strong and proud man, but who in reality is a weakling at heart,—is like one of your mean small men. Yea, is he not like a cowardly thief or sneaking pickpocket?" (literally a thief who breaks through or climbs over a wall)—(Confucius Sayings, Chap. XVII, sec. 12). That is Confucius' description of modern types of men who call themselves Imperialists like Lord Rosebery in England and the Manchu Tuan-fang in China.

— 12 —

Now in the beginning of this article I have said so much in admiration and praise of the Manchu aristocracy and their heroism and nobility of character that people will think I am here writing as an interested or biased partisan. But what I admire and wanted to praise is the good material, the noble metal which is really still in the Manchu aristocracy in China. The actual condition, however, of the Manchu aristocracy at present in China, I must say, is indeed very far from being admirable.

Like the British aristocracy, the Manchu aristocracy was originally a military clan or caste. When at the end of the last Ming dynasty, the Chinese governing class in China, the remnants of the followers of the great Patriot Emperor of the Chinese Renaissance,—I mean, the first Emperor of the Ming dynasty,—who by hard fighting to drive the Mongol hordes out of China recovered their heroism and nobility of character, their ancient Chinese chivalry,—when the Chinese governing class in China some three hundred years ago had again degenerated, lost their nobility of character and became incapable of safeguarding the Chinese civilisation, then a clan of undegenerate hardy Northmen living on the snow covered white mountains in North Manchuria,—originally consisting only of 28 companies of horsemen (二十八甲)—had to come into China Proper to teach and assist the governing class in China, to look after the moral as well as the material well-being of the Chinese people and to safeguard the Chinese civilisation. In short, the present Manchu Aristocracy in China, originally a military clan or caste, became the nucleus or leaven in the nation to inspire, ennoble and form a new governing class in China.

But like the British aristocracy in England, the Manchu aristocracy in China, having fought the good fight, won and re-established the great Chinese Empire, came gradually to look upon the great Chinese Empire with its ancient civilisation, not as a sacred trust confided to their care, but as an inheritance, inherited property or vested interests upon which they were privileged to live with no other duty in life except to live luxuriously and drink champagne in order to encourage trade for the benefit of the working class. One authenticated story is told of an illiterate high Manchu official with great connections before the T'ai-ping Rebellion who was appointed Viceroy of Canton. When somebody remonstrated with this blue-blooded Manchu aristocrat who spent all his time in collecting and arranging glassware, snuff-boxes,—for not attending to his duties as a Viceroy, he said: "My duties! The idea! Why, don't you know that we Manchus by the gracious favour of the Emperor are not sent as Viceroys to do work (辦事) but to enjoy ourselves and have a good time (享福)." We have in China unfortunately no books or memoirs such as the memoirs of the Duke of Gramont in France or Lady Cardigan's Recollections recently published in England, to give the world a true and faithful picture of the rotten state of the high society in China before the T'ai-ping Rebellion. But there is in China a very famous novel called the "Dream of the Red Chamber." The story is credibly said to be founded upon true facts—upon the rise and fall of the house of a great Manchu noble by the name of Ming Chu (明珠) who was ruined by the fall of Ho K'un (和坤), a powerful and grasping statesman in the reign of the Emperor Kienlung who was executed by Kienlung's successor, the Emperor Chia Ching. This famous novel of the "Dream of the Red Chamber," however, is not a realistic novel in the style

of the "Chinpingmei," which is a truly realistic novel and more powerful than any of Zola's, describing the state of society at the end of the Ming dynasty. In the "Dream of the Red Chamber," the life of a society without high ideals; high society of men and women without any serious occupation except eating, drinking, dressing and making love to each other—all this is only outlined and sketched out in weak indian ink: the unsavoury details of the breaches of the Seventh Commandment are only indicated and hinted at and not described. But unrealistic though the novel of the "Dream of the Red Chamber" is, yet to what an abysmal depth of degradation in one respect the *crème* of high society among the Manchu aristocracy in China reached, may be gathered from one little incident given in the story. One of the characters in the novel referring to one of the great Manchu aristocratic houses, said: "The only two creatures who are morally pure and clean in that great house are the two stone lions before the gate."

Indeed, before the T'ai-ping Rebellion, as I said in the beginning of this article, it was the loss of heroism and nobility of character, loss of high ideals and, in consequence, the laxity of morals among the Manchu aristocracy in China making them incapable of giving the noble direction looked to from them by the nation,—it was all this which produced the cancer of ignoble and wasteful consumption culminating eventually in the cataclysm and convulsions of the great T'ai-ping Rebellion. Now, if the Manchu aristocracy in China before the T'ai-ping Rebellion had greatly sinned, they received the full measure of punishment for the multitude and magnitude of their sins when the red-turbaned T'ai-ping fanatic rebels fell suddenly and furiously upon these careless-living, good-time-having, corrupt and iniquity-

laden privileged Manchu grandees living in the garrison cities in China. In the words of the Hebrew prophet : "Therefore hell hath enlarged herself and opened her mouth without measure, and their glory, and their multitude, and their pomp, and he that rejoiceth shall descend into it." In fact, at the very first outburst of the T'ai-ping Rebellion, almost the whole of the many Manchu garrisons stationed in the different cities throughout China were exterminated : old men, young men, boys, women, girls, babies,—all perished and perished atrociously by the fanatic fury of the T'ai-ping rebels who called and treated all Manchus and Chinese who sided with the Manchus as "Yao" (妖) or "imps" of hell.

After the T'ai-ping Rebellion, as we have seen, the power in the state in China also passed from the hands of the Manchu aristocracy into the hands of the Chinese literati, the middle-class in China. Having lost the power of initiative in the State, the Manchu aristocracy in China have no power to fulfil their proper function in the organism of the social body or social order,—to inspire and direct the Chinese nation to a noble national life. Thus failing to fulfil their proper function, the Manchu aristocracy have now no reason for their existence in the social body in the Chinese nation. In short, like the British aristocracy forming the House of Lords in England, the Manchu aristocracy with their privileges in China have become an anomaly. Therefore, unless some body from outside or some strong able member from among themselves take in hand the reform of the Manchu aristocracy and put new life into them,—our House of Lords in China as the House of Lords in England, will have to be abolished. But then there is the dilemma, if we abolish our Manchu aristocracy as our Chinese reformers and revolutionists propose to do in

the same way as the Radicals and Socialists in England propose to abolish the House of Lords,—there will be no heroism and nobility of character, no rallying point for the heroism and nobility of character in the nation.

— 13 —

At present what Matthew Arnold says of the British aristocracy of his time is also true of the Manchu aristocracy in China. Matthew Arnold says: "One has often wondered whether upon the whole earth there is anything so unintelligent, so unapt to perceive how the world is really going, as an ordinary Englishman of our upper class. Ideas he has not, neither has he that seriousness of our middle-class which is, as I have often said, the great strength of this class and may become its salvation. Why, a man may hear a young Dives of the aristocratic class, when the whim takes him to sing the praises of wealth and material comfort, sing them with a cynicism from which the conscience of the veriest Philistine of our industrial middle-class would recoil in affright."

As regards want of intelligence among our Manchu aristocracy, any one who has been obliged to have official dealings with one of those whom the Peking Chinese call a Manchu Ta-yeh (*petit maitre*), can tell you how such a blue or red buttoned idiot without the faintest reason on his side will negotiate and argue with you, having all the time not the slightest idea of what negotiation or argument means, until one feels one must run away for fear of being frenzied and forced to commit murder by throttling and strangling the pale-faced lack-lustre-eyed gibbering idiot. But the worst fault of the Manchu aristocracy at present in China is their want of seriousness. With the exception of the present Prince

Regent, who even, it seems to me, has the fault of being too serious, most of the Manchu Princes and other notables whom I have seen in Peking do not seem to realise not only the serious state of things in the affairs of the nation, but also the danger of their anomalous and precarious position in the estate of the realm. As Napoleon said of the Bourbons in France in the last century, the Manchu aristocracy now in China since the T'ai-ping Rebellion and even after the Boxer cataclysm, have suffered many things, but they have learnt nothing. The only thing left in many of them is pride,—the pride of the Scottish penniless lass with a lang pedigree.

There are of course many exceptions to what I have said in the above. Many men among the Manchu aristocracy at the present day, men like Tieh-liang and others, have a strong sense of honour and duty. The one great moral quality of the Manchu aristocracy in China, which is their great strength and may perhaps become their salvation,—is their guilelessness. The Manchus even now, with all their faults, are a people without guile: a people with great simple-mindedness and, in consequence of that, with great simplicity of manners and ways of living. The present Vice-President of Waiwupu, Lien-fang, who has been educated abroad in France, has served under Li Hung-chang in Tientsin and could, like all Li Hung-chang's *protégés*, have amassed a great fortune if he had chosen—is now perhaps the poorest and most simple-living foreign educated man in all China. There is agā'n Sih-liang, the present Viceroy of Manchuria, who began his career as a petty district magistrate and has risen to be a great Viceroy, and who yet is also a poor and very modest, simple-living man. Indeed, I could, if I were not afraid to make this article too long, give the names of many members of the Manchu aristocracy whom

I know, in and out of official life, simple-minded men with fine manners and what the French call *la politesse du cœur* who are perfect gentlemen and who are ready to do their duty if they only knew how, and when called upon will give their lives for the honour of their King and country. I will however here only further mention again the Manchu women, especially among the poorer Manchu families, who, living upon the small pittance of Government allowance, by a life of self-denial, semi-starvation and drudging like slaves, try to live like true gentlewomen and do the duty they owe to their children, husbands, parents and ancestors. (*)

— 14 —

But to sum up. Looking now impartially upon the confused and demoralised state of things in China at the

(*) NOTE.—The late Mr. Archibald Forbes, speaking of the suffering of the people during the siege of Paris in 1871, says: "It was people with pride and fixed salaries, which were not paid, who suffered most during the siege; and they, too, it was who were the most difficult to relieve. The women were the most stubborn and the most proud. The *conciierge* would assure the almoner that the two old ladies on such a floor were literally starving. The old ladies, when you pushed their button, would appear stately and gracious. 'Yes, the English were a kind people and the good God would reward them. There were some poor creatures in the roof who were in pressing need. For themselves, thanks; but no, they could not accept charity. *Merci: bon jour, monsieur!*' and the door would close on the wan eyes and hollow cheeks. Ah me, it was melancholy work." The Manchu families in China are also people with pride and fixed salaries which on account of the emptiness of the Government Treasury have been reduced to starvation pittances. The Manchu women in China, too, are the most stubborn and most proud. I knew one old Manchu lady in Canton whose husband was killed when the Anglo-French forces took and occupied Canton. Her son was born two months after her husband's death. This Manchu gentlewoman literally starved herself to bring up her son, give him an education and in time provided him with a wife. When I knew her, her son, who was my intimate friend, was receiving as a petty official in the Chinese Postal department a salary of Tls. 30 a month and yet when the old lady gave a *fête* in honour of her god-daughter, my late deceased wife, this noble old Manchu gentlewoman spent money with the liberality and graciousness of a princess.

present day, I must say that the best materials out of and by which a new and better order of things, a real new China, can be evolved,—are still to be found among the Manchu aristocracy in China. It is true, as Matthew Arnold says, that in epochs of expansion such as that in which we are now living, all aristocracies “with their natural clinging to the established fact, their want of sense for the flux of things, for the inevitable transitoriness of all human institutions, are most liable of becoming bewildered and helpless.” In fact, in epochs of expansion what are most required are ideas and men capable of understanding ideas, and it is true, unfortunately, like all aristocracies, the Manchu aristocracy in China with their disinclination for intellectual culture, are men least capable of understanding ideas. But then if the Manchu aristocracy in China have no ideas and are incapable of understanding ideas, yet they have something without which not only a new and better order of things, a new China cannot be evolved, but without which even the old order, the best of the old order, the best of the Chinese civilisation must go to wreck and ruin. The Manchu aristocracy have, in one word, *morale*, or moral hardiness, a moral quality which is not easy to find now in any class in China, least of all in our Philistine middle class, the Chinese literati of the present day. The Chinese literati, our Philistine middle class, I may say here, with a few exceptions of men such as the present Viceroy of Nanking who, being the nephew of Chang Pei-lun, the hero of the Foochow battle, although he was too young to be an actual member, yet is a man who had come under the spiritual and refining influence of the Oxford Movement,—the Chinese literati at the present day as can be seen from the vulgarity and other hideous features of the Chinese newspapers in Shanghai and, I may add here, the still more vulgar “variety show”

they are having in Chang Su-ho's Garden now,—have completely lost their *morale*, and in fact every moral quality except vanity and conceit. The *morale* of the Populace, the hard-working class in China, again, it is true, is even to this day not very much impaired. But then the Populace, the *people* in China have no political power and it is fortunate that they have as yet no power, for the truly great moral power of the *people* in China is, although strong, a coarse, crude power without the delicacy of the moral power of the Manchu aristocracy, and, in consequence, when the real democracy in China is once called upon to assert its power of *veto*, as in the T'ai-ping Rebellion as well as in the Boxer outbreak,—that power of veto only becomes a terrible destructive power.

In short, the foundation, the rock upon which a new and better order of things, a new China, can only be built, is the Manchu aristocracy in China. But, as I have said, the Manchu aristocracy, our House of Lords in China, must reform. In fact, the one and first thing we in China as well as the people in England urgently want to-day, before we can do anything at all, is a reformed aristocracy. The Manchu aristocracy in China as the British aristocracy was at the time of Lord Beaconsfield, and is I think even now—is still morally sound. But the Manchu aristocracy in China want a leader—a man with ideas and capable of understanding ideas to lead them. The best men we have now among our Manchu aristocracy, such as Tieh-liang or, even better still, the present Prince Regent, who, as I shall show, is as pure and moral as Tieh-liang but touched by the spiritual and refining influence of the Oxford Movement—all these men can only keep—and they are trying their best to keep—the old order, the best in the Chinese civilisation, from going to wreck and ruin. But for the positive work of

expansion,—of evolving a new and better order of thing., creating a new China,—the Manchu aristocracy, as I have said, want a leader—a man with ideas and capable of understanding ideas—to lead them. The British aristocracy in the middle of the Victorian era found their leader in Lord Beaconsfield, a man who had the advantage of not belonging either to the Philistine middle class or to the barbarian aristocratic class in England. Therefore the Manchu aristocracy in China will perhaps find their leader in a foreign-educated Chinese, one who on the one hand will not have the over education, conceit and impractical pedantry of the Chinese literati nor on the other hand the pride and class prejudices of the Manchu aristocrat, in fact one who can combine in himself a true sense for the moral worth and beauty of the old Chinese civilisation with an aptitude for interpreting and understanding the expansive, progressive ideas of the modern European civilisation. In such a case, if the foreign Powers could be induced to send as ministers to Peking men of real intellectual culture who understand besides diplomacy and the art of writing despatches something of civilisation, of the issues of civilisation, and if such ministers would not only refrain from interfering and give the foreign-educated Chinese I have described a free hand, but even support him with their moral prestige,—we might then hope for real reform in China, for a new China, a new China, too, not for the Chinese alone, but a new China for civilisation and humanity. *Ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo!*



CHAPTER IV.

AN INTERREGNUM: THE CHINESE TRIUMVIRATE.

I have said that when Li Hung-chang fell after the Japanese war, the Chinese literati were without a leader. But what I should have said is that the Liberal party of the Chinese literati was without a leader. After the death of the great Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan, the Chinese literati into whose hands, as we have seen, the power in the state in China fell, were split into two parties, called the party of the Siangchun (Hunan army) and the party of the Huaichun (Anhwei army). The Siangchun party was Hunanese and conservative: it had its headquarters in Nanking. The Huaichun party was Anhwei and liberal: it had its headquarters in Tientsin. After the death of the great Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan, the conservative Hunan party gradually lost its ascendancy and power and there was nothing left to the Hunanese in Nanking who had fought in the T'ai-ping Rebellion but the privilege of drawing pensions from the Government Treasury and when that privilege was questioned or refused, threatening the Imperial government with Ko-lao-hui (secret society) uprising in the Yangtze valley. The liberal Anhwei party, on the other hand, in Tientsin, with Li Hung-chang at its head, gained ascendancy until it absorbed all the power in the state,—especially the power of spending money and giving away the "plums," the most lucrative posts in the public service in the state in China.

When Li Hung-chang fell after the Japanese war, the liberal Anhwei party at Tientsin was broken up and, as I said, left without a leader. The conservative Hunan party in Nanking, however, had a leader—the late Viceroy Liu Kun-yi. In fact after Li Hung-chang fell, the liberal Anhwei party having been broken up and the rising radical party of Kang Yu-wei not having been organised, Liu Kun-yi became not only a leader of the conservative Hunan party, but also nominally of the whole Chinese literati.

Liu Kun-yi in one sense may be called the Duke of Wellington, in the political life of recent times in China. Like the Duke of Wellington, he was not a scholar, not even a literati, but a soldier. But unlike the Duke of Wellington, Liu Kun-yi was a Chinese Scotch Highlander. The Yangtze Valley in China is the Scotland of China. The upper part of the Yangtze Valley from Hankow upwards including the hill-covered province of Hunan with its "lochs" form the Highlands of the Chinese Scotland. The lower part of the Yangtze Valley from Hankow downwards including Anhwei and Nanking form the lowlands of the Chinese Scotland. The people inhabiting the Yangtze Valley have all the characteristics of the Scotch. The Chinese of the lower Yangtze, like the Lowland Scotch, are a shrewd, canny, practical business people with an inclination to be hard, grasping and mean. Li Hung-chang, for instance, who was a native of Anhwei in the lower Yangtze, was a characteristic shrewd, canny Lowland Scot who had an inordinate sense of the value of the "bawbee" or in China "sycee." The Chinese of the upper Yangtze Valley, on the other hand, especially the Hunanese, are the Highlanders—rough, blunt, hardy, thrifty but not mean. The one common characteristic, however, of the Chinese living in the Lower as well as the

Upper Yangtze, as with the Lowland and Highland Scotch,—is that they have “grit” or staying power, a moral quality which the Chinese of other provinces have not, least of all the Cantonese. In fact it was principally the Hunanese and Anhwei men with the Scottish “grit” in them who did most to put down the great T'ai-ping Rebellion.

Liu Kun-yi, I said, was not a scholar, but a soldier,—a bluff Highland veteran retaining to the end of his life the rough blunt manners and peculiar harsh accent of the Hunanese dialect. Liu Kun-yi had no intellectual culture, not even the literary polish of Li Hung-chang, but like the Duke of Wellington Liu Kun-yi had fought and distinguished himself in the campaigns against the T'ai-ping Rebels, and his long experience in the campaigns had given him practical insight into men and things and matured his judgment. What is more, like the Duke of Wellington Liu Kung-yi had a strong sense of duty and honour. In fact Liu Kung-yi was the last of the Chinese literati who had *morale* or moral hardiness. Even Chang Chih-tung, although a man of fine and delicate nature, had not *morale* or moral hardiness. The only class of educated people in China now who have *morale*, as I have said, are the Manchus.

Confucius says: “To be strong, resolute, simple and slow in speech: these are the characteristics of a moral character” (剛毅木訥近仁). When the Boxer fanaticism broke out in North China in 1900, and the Imperial Government in Peking, after the capture of the Taku forts by the Powers, was compelled to declare war, Liu Kung-yi in Nanking sent a telegram to the Throne saying that he did not think it right to bring the horrors of war upon the population under his rule, but if the foreign Powers should attack any part of the territory entrusted

to his care, Their Imperial Majesties might rest assured that, whether he should win or lose, he would answer with his life for the honour of the Chinese Empire. Confucius says:—"A man to whom an orphan prince of tender years or the safety of a hundred townships can be entrusted and who, under no matter what emergency, could not be shaken from his sense of duty and honour to betray his trust—such a man is what I could call a gentleman, yes, a perfect gentleman."

— 2 —

When Liu Kung-yi died, the Chinese literati came under the leadership of a triumvirate. The members of the triumvirate were Chang Chih-tung, Yuan Shih-kai and the now ex-Viceroy of Canton, Ts'en Ch'un-hsuan. After the Japanese war, the whole educated class in China were in despair and in their despair, all Conservatives as well as Liberals, were inclined to go along with Kang Yu-wei's party of Radicals with their programme of root and branch reform which developed and became violent and fierce Jacobinism. Chang Chih-tung, however, was the first to be alarmed and to withdraw from Kang Yu-wei and the Jacobins and, as we have seen, issued his manifesto against them. It was the influence of the Oxford Movement, the Oxford sentiment for beauty and sweetness, the sentiment against hideousness and rawness, which saved Chang Chih-tung from Kang Yu-wei's crude and fierce Jacobinism. The greatest service, I may say here, which Chang Chih-tung in his whole public life did to the nation, was his withdrawing himself and the Chinese literati who followed him at this critical moment in the history of China, from Kang Yu-wei and the Jacobins. If Chang Chih-tung with the Chinese literati had stuck to and supported Kang Yu-wei to the end, I do not know if

there might not have been civil war in China. At any rate but for the timely withdrawal of Chang Chih-tung and the Chinese literati, the late Empress-Dowager could not have so easily dealt with and suppressed Kang Yu-wei and his Jacobin followers and saved the country from the disastrous consequences of their violent and fierce Jacobinism.

Yuan Shih-kai, the other member of the triumvirate, also withdrew himself from Kang Yu-wei and his Jacobin friends at the last critical moment. With Chang Chih-tung it was the nobility of his nature, his fine and delicate nature, refined too by the influence of the Oxford movement, which made him withdraw himself from Kang Yu-wei and the Jacobins. But with Yuan Shih-kai it was the baseness of his nature which made him desert his Jacobin friends, Kang Yu-wei and his party.

— 3 —

Yuan Shih-kai is the Joseph Chamberlain of China. Lord Salisbury once called Mr. Joseph Chamberlain "Jack Cade." Indeed, like Jack Cade, Yuan Shih-kai in China and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in England truly belong to the populace party, represent the crude, incoherent and impure, ignoble aspirations of the populace in their respective countries. The populace in every country is not immoral. The populace in China even is very moral, more moral certainly at the present moment than the educated class, the literati in China,—understanding by morality honesty of purpose and capacity for conscientious hard work. But then the populace even of China, although moral, is not noble. The populace is not noble because the populace, even in China, has not conquered and got mastery over its appetite. A man who wants to be noble must first of all conquer

and get mastery over the beast in him,—his appetite. The populace have force, but that force comes from its having a strong appetite and is therefore not a noble force. The populace, again, from the nature of their life occupation are coarse, have no delicacy. This want of delicacy combined with the strong appetite is that which makes the populace, when it gets power, always brutal.

Therefore both Yuan Shih-kai in China and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in England, who represent the power of the populace in their respective countries, have the bad as well as the good qualities of the populace they represent. They both are strong men, but, as I said, their force comes from their having a strong appetite and therefore is a base, brutal force. Both besides have native intelligence, but intelligence without delicacy and sweetness, or what the English call commonsense, foreigners in China call it *savey*. In fact both Yuan Shih-kai in China and Mr. Chamberlain in England have plenty *savey*. They know what the Jacobins like Kang Yu-wei with their fierce desire for a millennium at once do not quite know, that ginger when put in the mouth is hot and that it is foolish to fight against one's bread and butter, for when one loses one's bread and butter it does one absolutely no good whatever, even if one is able to bring about the millennium.

I have said that it was the baseness of his nature which made Yuan Shih-kai desert his Jacobin friends. It is, however, not slimness or lightness of moral principle, as in the case of Tuan-fang in China and Lord Rosebery in England,—which makes men like Yuan Shih-kai in China and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in England change their politics. With men like Yuan Shih-kai and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain all is cool calculation. As Yuan Shih-kai joined Kang Yu-wei and the Jacobins without

their enthusiasm and their desire for a millennium but simply because he calculated and thought that after Li Hung-chang's fall Kang Yu-wei and the Radicals had the best cards in their hands, so Yuan Shih-kai deserted his friends when he saw them playing their cards recklessly and likely to lose the game. In fact, like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Yuan Shih-kai is a man who is utterly incapable of enthusiasm and noble impulse, of understanding enthusiasm and noble impulse. Indeed it was his utter inability to understand and feel sympathy with the noble madness of the Boxer movement which made Yuan Shih-kai, who was Governor of Shantung at the time, punish and put down the misguided mad peasant Boxer lads in that province, with an indiscriminate, ruthless hand which, strange as it is, has ever since gained him credit with unthinking and ignoble foreigners like himself. In short, men like Yuan Shih-kai in China and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in England have all the baseness and brutality of the populace.

— 4 —

Yuan Shih-kai began his career as a hanger-on in the retinue of the Chinese General Wu Chang-ching, who was sent by the Imperial Chinese Government with Chinese troops to be stationed at Chemulpu in Korea. Yuan Shih-kai is a distant cousin of the famous Yuan Chia-san (袁甲三), who was Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief in the early campaign against the T'ai-ping Rebels. Many of the officers under Yuan Chia-san's command later on became generals. General Wu Chang-ching in Korea was one of these. As a boy even, Yuan Shih-kai was given up by the members of his family as a hopeless reprobate. Discarded by his family, Yuan Shih-kai was taken care of and brought up by Ch'eng Wen-ping (程文炳), who was also one of Yuan Chia-san's officers

and who was until recently Commander-in-Chief or Admiral of the Yangtze. A son of this Admiral Ch'eng who was educated together with Yuan Shih-kai has told me that as a boy Yuan Shih-kai was wilful, selfish, and utterly unreliable.

Carlyle describing Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Society, says: "A young Spanish hidalgo with hot Biscayan blood, distinguished by his fierce appetites chiefly, by his audacities and sensualities and loud unreasonable decision. That this Universe, in spite of rumours to the contrary, was a cookery shop and bordel wherein garlic, Jamaica-pepper, unfortunate females and other spicery and garnishing awaited the bold human appetite, and the rest of it was mere rumour and moonshine; and with this life theory and practice had Ignatius lived some thirty years."

With the above life theory and practice also had Yuan Shih-kai in his native province of Honan lived until he became bankrupt and utterly penniless. He then succeeded in borrowing money from friends who were glad to get rid of the young scamp, to pay for his passage to Korea, where he became a hanger-on in the retinue of General Wu above mentioned. But Yuan Shih-kai, a thorough scamp though he was, was not without abilities and energy. He therefore gradually worked his way up until, by the influence of Li Hung-chang, he was appointed Director-General of trade and international relations in Korea. In this way, Yuan Shih-kai became the youngest member of Li Hung-chang's corrupt oligarchy in Tientsin.

— 5 —

Like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in England, Yuan Shih-kai in China is a *parvenu* and upstart. The

sign mark of a *parvenu* and upstart is *swagger*, as foreigners who have had any dealings with the foreign educated Chinese in favour with Yuan Shih-kai in Tientsin can see, in the extravagant way of living and *cocky* manners of these foreign educated men, the mark of their chief—*swagger*. The Chinese literati in Peking call Yuan Shih-kai's men in Tientsin *Piao-tang—swagger* party. When I was in Peking two years ago, a member of the Censorate who was walking with me in the street when he saw Yuan Shih-kai with a gold mouth-pieced cigarette in his mouth drive pass in a new foreign brougham with swaggering retainers riding behind, repeated to me with emotion a verse from the Confucian Book of Odes (Part II. Bk. v. 6.)

"O azure Heaven, from out thy deeps
Why look in silence down?
Behold these proud men and rebuke;
With pity on the sufferers look,
And on the evil frown."

In fact Yuan Shih-kai has tried to imitate the *grand style* of the Manchu Yung-lu; and many foreigners in Tientsin and Peking, I know, have been taken in, mistaking Yuan Shih-kai's *swagger* for the true grand style of the Manchu Yung-lu. But the late Manchu Yung-lu, with all his failings, was a born aristocrat, whereas Yuan Shih-kai is a *parvenu* and upstart. I once said to Tang Shao-yi, who is a follower of Yuan Shih-kai, that he was a millionaire who has the air without the million. In fact the *imitation* grand style or *swagger* of Yuan Shih-kai is the *air* of the millionaire without the million.

As the *swagger* of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in England helped principally to bring on the Boer war in South Africa, so the *swagger* of Yuan Shih-kai when he

was Chinese Resident in Korea helped to make the China-Japan war inevitable. When the war actually broke out, Yuan Shih-kai himself was frightened at the serious result of his *swagger* and he ran back to Tientsin. There Li Hung-chang who, it is but just to say, did not want the war and was furious against his over-zealous swaggering *protégé* for having brought on the war,—gave Yuan Shih-kai the cold shoulder. Yuan Shih-kai, who was thus again down in the street, bankrupt and in debt, tried hard but in vain to get Sheng Hsuan-huai, who was then the most powerful member of Li Hung-chang's oligarchy, to intercede and reinstate him into Li Hung-chang's favour. Yuan Shih-kai never forgot this grudge against the then powerful Sheng Hsuan-huai for when he, Yuan Shih-kai, became Viceroy of Chih-li, he took away the entire Director-generalship of the Telegraph Administration and China Merchants' Company from Sheng Hsuan-huai. This story I had from Sheng Hsuan-huai himself.

Failing to get reinstated as a member of Li Hung-chang's oligarchy, Yuan Shih-kai tried to curry favour with the Manchu Aristocracy in Peking. By the influence of the old protector of his youth, General or Admiral Ch'eng Wen-ping, who had been called to Peking from his retirement, Yuan Shih-kai obtained the subordinate command of a newly organised corps of troops under the Manchu Yung-lu. But before he had got a firm footing with the Manchu Aristocracy, Li Hung-chang had fallen and Kang Yu-wei and the Chinese Radicals rose into prominence. Yuan Shih-kai thought he saw his chance and he threw in his lot with Kang Yu-wei and the Jacobins, but, as everybody now knows, Yuan Shih-kai deserted and betrayed his Jacobin friends at the last critical moment. From this time, Yuan Shih-kai definitely

joined the Manchu Aristocracy and formed what may be called the *Unionist* party in China. As Mr. Joseph Chamberlain became henchman to Lord Salisbury in England so Yuan Shih-kai became henchman and flunkey to the Manchu Yung-lu in China.

I need not follow Yuan Shih-kai further in his official career. From the command of the special corps in Tientsin, Yuan Shih-kai was appointed to the governorship of Shantung and while he was there the Boxer fanaticism broke out. We have already seen how with his utter inability to appreciate the noble motive of that misdirected and foolish outbreak, Yuan Shih-kai ruthlessly put down and executed the misguided mad peasantry with a cynical and brutal hand. From the Governorship of Shantung, Yuan Shih-kai was transferred to be the Viceroy of Chihli and Northern Superintendent of Trade. Before he came to Tientsin, the Provisional Tientsin Government which came into existence during the occupation of Tientsin by the foreign troops of the allied Powers had cleaned, improved and made a modern European Municipal city of Tientsin and when Yuan Shih-kai took over the Government of Tientsin from the foreign Provisional Government, he undeservedly got all the credit for the outward signs of progress and reform which foreigners saw in the Europeanised city of Tientsin. When Liu Kun-yi died, Yuan Shih-kai, as I have said, became one of the triumvirate together with Chang Chih-tung and the then Viceroy of Canton, Ts'en Chun-hsuan.

I should not have taken the trouble to go so fully into the life and character of this now fallen Joseph Chamberlain of China, but for the fact that Dr. Morrison and the whole English press in China and in England with the confident and even arrogant air of authority

which would be only ridiculous and amusing were it not so harmful to a right understanding of the true state of things in China,—try to make out this clay-footed idol of theirs, Yuan Shih-kai, to be now the one great man in China who is necessary for the salvation of the Chinese nation and in thus apotheosizing Yuan Shih-kai, throw discredit upon the present *régime* of the Prince Regent now in China. The English public opinion at one time made an idol of Li Hung-chang. Even Englishmen of the mental calibre of the late Mr. Michie called Li Hung-chang the grand old man of China. What Englishman now has a good word to say for Mr. Michie's grand old man? (*)

But to be just, Li Hung-chang was not a bad, immoral, vicious man. Li Hung-chang was only a Philistine. Li Hung-chang was coarse and vulgar, but not violent and vicious. Kang Yu-wei and the Chinese Jacobins, on the other hand, are violent and vicious, but not coarse and vulgar. There is an idealism in their Jacobinism, the ardent desire to bring about the millennium all at once. But Yuan Shih-kai combines the coarseness and vulgarity of Li Hung-chang the Philistine with the violence and viciousness of Kang Yu-wei the

(*) NOTE.—There are only two public statues in Shanghai, one of Li Hung-chang and the other of Sir Harry Parkes. *Arcades ambo!* The character of a people may be known by the Gods or heroes they worship. The Chinese and the German Jew-doggery in Shanghai worship as their hero Li Hung-chang. The English worship Sir Harry Parkes. Sir Harry Parkes was like the Chinese Li Hung-chang, a characteristic type of what Matthew Arnold calls the middle class liberal Philistine. But poor General Gordon, the one true Christian Knight who ever came to China, is put on the same level as our honoured fellow citizen Dr. John C. Ferguson. General Gordon together with Dr. J. C. Ferguson gets an out-of-the-way and beastly road named after him. But, really the Shanghai people are very funny in their hero worship. They once named after a prominent public man of the most exemplary family life a street which men of the most unexemplary family life frequent.

Jacobin. In fact both Yuan Shih-kai in China and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain are renegade Jacobins.

— 6 —

Before I leave Yuan Shih-kai here, I should like to point out very clearly the harm which such men who are of a course, vulgar and violent nature do to the cause of true reform and progress towards a truly noble national life in their respective countries and to the civilisation of the world. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, for instance, as everybody knows, has adopted the Imperialism of Lord Beaconsfield. But Imperialism which signifies making the British Empire strong and powerful was with Lord Beaconsfield only the means to an end; the end was not only good government for the British Empire, but civilisation for the world. In other words, Lord Beaconsfield wanted to make the British Empire strong and powerful only in order to enable the British Government, as he himself says, to do what it thinks right to give good government to the British Empire and to further the cause of civilisation in the world. With Mr. Joseph Chamberlain however Imperialism, *i.e.* making the British Empire strong and powerful, is an end in itself. At any rate, Mr. Chamberlain's Imperialism has nothing to do with good government or civilisation. The object of Mr. Chamberlain's Imperialism is simply to make and enable the people of the Anglo-Saxon race living in the British Empire have more to eat, better houses to live in, etc., in fact become materially more prosperous than any nation or people upon the face of the earth and then to swagger and bully the whole world. The result of Lord Beaconsfield's Imperialism to further the cause of good government and civilisation made British law and British justice—made

the *Pax Britannica* respected throughout the whole world. Confucius speaking of a famous statesman in his time, says: "But for Kuan Chung, we should now be wearing our hair dishevelled and the lappets of our coats buttoning on the left side," *i.e.* become savages. In the same way one could say that but for the statesmanship of Lord Beaconsfield in England and Prince Bismarck in Germany, the people of Europe would now be reduced to a state of anarchy and savagery. The result, on the other hand, of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's Imperialism to help the Anglo-Saxon race to eat more beef and live in better comfort, swagger and bully the whole world, has brought about the Boer war in South Africa, women suffragettes in England, anarchist bomb-throwing students in India and 60 millions pounds sterling deficit in the Budget in one year. It is true, then, what we Chinese say that men and not systems give good government to a country or nation. (有治人無治法.)

In China the axiom about men and not system has even more force than in England or Europe. The "constitution" in the government of China is, as I have said, a moral and not a legal constitution. In other words, we in China depend more upon moral law than upon paper constitutions, state regulations or police laws to check and restrain persons in high positions of responsibility and power from the Emperor down to the petty district magistrate, from doing wrong. In short, good government in China depends altogether upon the moral character of our rulers. Therefore in China when immoral men are placed in high positions of responsibility and power the harm they can do cannot be imagined. Moreover the power of the State for good and evil in China as in every absolute and autocratic government is very great. Therefore when a man of coarse, vulgar,

violent and vicious nature such as Yuan Shih-kai has anything to do in directing this tremendous power in the State in China, the consequences are terrible. I will not here speak of the extravagant waste which in order to keep up the swagger of Yuan Shih-kai and his *protégés*, has bankrupted the merchants as well as the officials in Tientsin. I will here only give one concrete example of these disastrous consequences. Yuan Shih-kai, as I have said, became one member of the triumvirate over the Chinese literati in China. The three members of the triumvirate, Chang Chih-tung, Yuan Shih-kai and Ts'en Chun-hsuan, being the acknowledged leaders of the Chinese literati, it was to these three men that the late Empress-Dowager looked to direct the carrying out of reform or Europeanisation of China which, as I have said, the whole Chinese nation had decided upon after the return of the Court to Peking in 1901. Chang Chih-tung, again the only member of the triumvirate who had ideas and could understand ideas, in his manifesto against the Jacobins, as we have seen, said that reform or Europeanisation of China must begin with reform and modification of the public education in China. Yuan Shih-kai, who has no ideas of his own, with his coarse, vulgar vulpine intelligence grossly seized this idea of Chang Chih-tung's and then at once violently forced and pushed the poor old man Chang Chih-tung, who, as I said, had no *morale* or moral hardiness, before he knew where he was, to consent to advise the late Empress-Dowager to abolish *in toto* the whole actual machinery of the old system of public education in China before the plan of a new system had even been so much as sketched out or discussed. The result is now the whole Chinese Empire with a population of 400 million people may be said to be absolutely without any public education except in

a few expensive, hideously vulgar red-brick European buildings in some of the principal cities where a compound mixture of bad English and hybrid Japanese equivalents for modern European scientific terms and other-ologies, which the pupils do not in the least understand, are shoved into them to make them into drivelling idiots. Here, then, is a concrete illustration of what I have said in the beginning of this article that men with beaver or vulpine intelligence like Yuan Shih-kai in China, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in England, should not be entrusted with power in any work connected with education or civilisation. The late famous Frenchman M. Renan says: "The sound education of the people is an effect of the high culture of certain classes. The countries which, like the United States, have created a considerable popular education without any serious higher education, will long have to expiate this fault, by their intellectual mediocrity, their vulgarity of manners, their superficial spirit, their lack of general intelligence." Whatever may be said of the old system of public education in China with all its shortcomings, it was intended with it to give the higher classes in China what M. Renan calls a serious higher education, and what is more, this serious higher education did produce men like the great Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan and even Chang Chih-tung himself.

— 7 —

The third and youngest member of the triumvirate was Tsen Chun-hsuan, the ex-Viceroy of Canton, now living as a private gentleman in Shanghai. He is the eldest son of the famous late Tsen Yu-ying, Viceroy of Yunnan, who was accused of being implicated in the murder of Margary. Tsen Yu-ying was a terrible man

who put down the Mohammedan rebels of the Panthay rebellion in Yunnan in the same stern way as Cromwell put down the rebellious Irish in Ireland. Like his father, Tsen Chun-hsuan is also a terrible man. He is a member of what the Germans would call the *Yunker* party. The family also comes from the wild, still half civilised province of Kwang-si, the Pomerania of China. Like Prince Bismarck, Tsen Chun-hsuan therefore is a true Chinese Pomeranian *Yunker*. Like Bismarck, too, in the beginning of his career, Tsen Chun-hsuan was an ultra-royalist,—*plus royaliste que le roi*. In fact Tsen Chun-hsuan first came into prominence and attracted the notice of the late Empress-Dowager by his ultra-royalist spirit at the time of the Boxer outbreak. When the Court fled to Si-an in Shensi, Tsen Chun-hsuan rushed to the rescue of the Court as Bismarck rushed to save the dynasty in Berlin in 1848.

But here the likeness between the two men ceases. Bismarck was a man who gave himself infinite pains to cultivate his mind. Tsen Chun-hsuan is absolutely without mental culture. But because he is altogether without culture, Tsen Chun-hsuan is sincere, and unlike the Jacobins, such as Kang Yu-wei with his pedantry and false idealism, Tsen Chun-hsuan is not a visionary, but immensely practical. It is true he has not the delicacy of the Manchu aristocracy. On the other hand he has not the swagger and vulgarity, the vulgar love of display of Yuan Shih-hai, the *parvenu*. Foreigners who have visited Tsen Chun-hsuan in his residence in Shanghai can see in the modest, simple way this son of a great terrible Viceroy, who himself has been a Viceroy, lives,—that he is a gentleman, that he does not belong to the *parvenu* compradore class.

In short Tsen Chun-hsuan is, as I have said, a strong, staunch, fierce ultra-royalist. He is a man who would make short work of the Jacobins and revolutionists. But as Friederich William said of Bismarck in 1848 Tsen Chun-hsuan is too strong and uncompromising a man to be entrusted with power in the transition period in China now, where constructive statesmanship calling for compromises is wanted. Goethe seeing the Marshal Vorwarts of his time says "Nothing is more terrible than activity without insight" (*Nichts ist schrecklicher als Thaetigkeit ohne Einsicht*). At the present moment, like the Greek Achilles, estranged from all persons in power, this terrible Viceroy sits sullen and inexorable in his tent in Markham Road in Shanghai and when his sullen humour gets the better of him in seeing things going from bad to worse in China, he takes a trip to the lakes in Hangchow or to the sea shore at the Pootoo Islands,—

βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θίνα πολυφλόισ-βοιο θαλάσσης

A time may come when this Chinese Achilles may be roused to don his armour and go forth to battle for the Greeks. But then, as the ex-Viceroy himself said to me just the other day, when that time comes, it will be a very bad time indeed for China and everybody.



CONCLUSION.

But I must now bring this story of a Chinese Oxford Movement to an end. It is not my intention nor would it be befitting in me as a subordinate official of the present Government to criticise before the foreign public the policy and acts of the Imperial Government now under the *régime* of the present Prince Regent. Anything I have to say in criticism of the present Government in China I would rather say to my own countrymen. Indeed two years ago in a long memorial to Their Imperial Majesties the late Empress-Dowager and the Emperor Kwang-hsu, I have already said all I wanted to say on the present state of things in China. But here, before I close this story of the Oxford Movement in China, I should like, as indeed I have promised, to show that the present Prince Regent is also a man who has had the benefit of coming under the influence of the Chinese Oxford Movement. The father of the present Prince Regent, the late seventh Prince, was unofficially the patron of the Oxford Movement in China. The late seventh Prince whose son was the late Emperor Kwang-hsu held the same position in the political life in China as the late Prince Consort, husband of the late Queen Victoria, held in England. As the late Prince Consort in England gave his life in trying to direct the loose flying anarchic forces calling themselves Liberalism at the time in England, so the seventh Prince in China also broke his heart and died prematurely when he found the Oxford Movement in

China, in which he placed his hope to fight the middle class Liberalism of Li Hung-chang and his corrupt oligarchy, was finally defeated and broken up. The present Regent, who is *de facto* the Chinese Empire, is the third son of this noble seventh Prince, the supporter and unofficial patron of the Chinese Oxford Movement. The education of the children of the late seventh Prince came therefore entirely under the influence of the men of the Oxford Movement, the last of whom has died in the person of the late Imperial Chancellor Sun Chia-nai. In this way, the Chinese Oxford Movement is still having its influence in the present government of China.

There were two men, I may further say here, among the Imperial Princes in China whom the late Empress-Dowager thought worthy to be her successor to direct the destiny of the Chinese nation. The late Empress-Dowager had in her mind the saying of Confucius, who said: "If I cannot get men of true moderation and sanity of mind to deal with, I would, if compelled to, get fanatics and bigots. Fanatics will do something and make progress and there are some things which bigots would not do." At first the late Empress-Dowager decided to choose Prince Tuan, of Boxer notoriety, whose son she nominated as the heir-apparent. If the Boxer outbreak had not occurred, we should now have Prince Tuan as the Prince Regent in China. Prince Tuan is a man of the fanatical type and if he were Regent now, he would no doubt, as Confucius said, have done something to make progress. But the Boxer outbreak having called for the interference of foreign Powers and made it impossible for Prince Tuan to be Regent, the late Empress-Dowager had to choose the present Prince Regent, who is the bigoted type of man. If the present Prince Regent has not done much to create a new order of things in China, much

credit must be given him for not having done many things which would have made things worse in China. What is more, the present Prince Regent is strictly carrying out the policy of the late Empress-Dowager which, as I have said, is this: if there must be a revolution in China which the Europeanisation of China practically and really amounts to, it shall be "a revolution by due course of law." The present Regent is comparatively a young man with the high spirit and pride of the Manchu race in him. When foreigners criticise the slowness with which things are going under the present *régime* of the Prince Regent now in China, they should remember how much credit is due to this high-spirited young Manchu Prince for his power of self-restraint, in his private life, to be able to live a pure, blameless life, and in his public career, to be willing to allow the revolution in China to be conducted, not by his selfwill, but by due course of law. In fact, of the Prince Regent one can say with the wise man: "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city."

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In conclusion I wish to say that in telling this story of the Oxford Movement in China, I have tried to show how since the coming of Europeans into China, we Chinese have tried to fight the destructive forces of the intensely materialistic civilisation of Modern Europe and to prevent it from doing harm to the cause of good government and true civilisation in China, and how we have failed. The leaders of the Chinese Oxford Movement, under which we have fought, are all dead. The question now is: What is to be done? Must we allow our ancient civilisation to be swept away or can anything be done to prevent such a catastrophe? And here, as Matthew Arnold would say,

I think I see my enemies waiting for me with a hungry joy in their eyes. But I shall elude them.

I have said that after the Boxer outbreak the whole Chinese nation, the governing class in China, came to the conclusion that the resources of the Chinese civilisation were insufficient, ineffectual, useless against the destructive forces of the materialistic civilisations of the nations of modern Europe. I further said that I would show that our governing class, the Chinese literati, were wrong in coming to such a conclusion and here I will keep my promise.

Now there are four ways by which a man or a nation of men can combat and try to put down a social or political wrong in the world. I will try to show this by a concrete illustration. We will suppose that there is a Ratepayer in the community of Shanghai who conscientiously believes that the tramways now running in the Settlement of Shanghai are not only a nuisance, but a bad, immoral, demoralising institution for the people of Shanghai. With this conviction in his mind, he can, in the first place, protest as a Ratepayer against the laying down of tramways in the streets of Shanghai, and, if his protest is not heeded, he can either himself or with a few others of the same conviction as himself, stand on the streets, and challenge the tramcar driver to stop running or run over his or their bodies, and should the tramcar driver refuse to stop, resist the running car with his fists and body. In such a case, if there were no policemen or municipal authority, the foolish Ratepayer would end in becoming a mangled corpse and the tramways would be in Shanghai all the same. That was, however, the way by which Prince Tuan and his Boxers tried to stop the coming of the materialistic civilisation of modern Europe.

There is another way by which a Ratepayer can attempt to stop the running of tramways in Shanghai. The Ratepayer can himself, or get his friends to, start an opposition tramway company in Shanghai and in that way financially and otherwise ruin the existing tramway company and stop it from running. In such a case one can imagine the state of Shanghai. This, however, was the way by which the late Chang Chih-tung proposed to stop the evil consequences of the coming of the materialistic civilisation of modern Europe into China.

The third way by which the Shanghai Ratepayer, such as I have described, can attempt to stop the running of tramways in Shanghai, is—to boycott it. But boycotting is not a moral force and will never be effectual in curing or reforming social wrongs. That, however, is the way by which the great Russian moralist Count Leo Tolstoi in a public letter to me advised the Chinese nation to stop the coming of the materialistic civilisation of modern Europe into China, namely, by boycotting everything European. This method of dealing with social evils recommended by Count Tolstoi is not a new method at all. The method of Buddhism to reform the world is also by boycott. When the world is bad, the adherent of Buddhism shaves his head, enters a cloister and thus boycotts the world. But then, in such a case, the world being bad becomes worse and in the end, the world getting from bad to worse, ends by burning up the cloister with all the shaven-headed boycotters in it. A social evil in the world can therefore never be reformed by boycott, because boycotting is a selfishness and an immoral tyranny. Matthew Arnold says: "Joubert has said beautifully, '*C'est la force et le droit qui reglent toutes choses dans le monde; la force en attendant le droit.*' Force and right are the governors of the world; force till right

is ready. Force till right is ready, and till right is ready, force, the existing order of things, is justified, is the legitimate ruler. But right is something more and implies inward recognition, free assent of the will; we are not ready for right,—right so far as we are concerned, is not ready,—until we have attained this sense of seeing it and willing it. The way in which for us it may change and transform force, the existing order of things, and become, in its turn, the legitimate ruler of the world will depend on the way in which, when our time comes, we see it and will it. Therefore for other people, enamoured of their own newly discerned right, to attempt to impose it upon us as ours and violently to substitute their right for our force, is an act of tyranny and to be resisted."

In short to boycott an institution because we think it is wrong and not to care for the consequences of the boycott is an immoral act of tyranny, and an immoral act will never reform an institution even if it is really an evil and immoral institution.

The fourth and last method by which a Ratepayer of Shanghai who conscientiously believes that the tramway in Shanghai is a dangerous nuisance and an immoral institution,—can stop the running of tramway cars in Shanghai,—is this. The Ratepayer in question need not boycott the tramway, he can even patronise it. But in his private and public life he must live such a life of self-respect and integrity that all the residents in Shanghai will respect him. With this respect of his fellow residents for him as a moral force, he can then go into the Retepayers' meeting and if he can show the Ratepayers,—who, because of the respect they have for him, will listen to him in a way in which no other speaker will be listened to,—that the tramway in Shanghai is a dangerous nuisance and an immoral institution, he will

then have the chance of making the Ratepayers willingly abolish the running of tramways in Shanghai. That, I say, is Confucius' method of stopping a social or political evil and reforming the world, namely, by gaining or acquiring moral force, through a life of self respect and integrity. Confucius says: "The moral man by living a life of simple truth and earnestness alone, can help to bring peace and order, help the cause of true civilisation in the world." (君子篤恭而天下平) This, then, I say, is the force, the only force upon which the Chinese nation will have to depend, in order to save their ancient civilisation, the best that is in that civilisation, from the destructive forces of the materialistic civilisation of the nations of modern Europe.

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Lastly of all, I wish to say here not only how little the Chinese as a nation have hitherto made use of this one true force in the Chinese civilisation to combat the forces of modern European civilisation, but that I myself individually as a Chinaman was not aware until now of the cause of my failure to accomplish anything for myself or for the world, because I did not know the one true method which leads to true success in life, the one method, namely, to order one's conversation aright, to concentrate one's energy in living, as Confucius says, "A life of simple truth and earnestness." Indeed, on this account but for the protection given me for more than twenty years by the man with whose name I have associated this story of the Chinese Oxford Movement, my life might have gone to wreck and ruin. What I have said in this story of my old chief, I know, is not all unstinted praise. But my object in writing this is not to praise or censure anybody or anything. My object is to

help people to understand the true state of things as it is in China. Amicus Plato, *magis amica veritas*. But, in concluding this story, I wish to record publicly here my gratitude to the late Imperial Chancellor Chang Chih-tung for the twenty years of shelter and protection he gave me from want and the necessity of debasing myself to earn a precarious livelihood in a world in China of hard and selfish men, treating me besides, notwithstanding my frequent wilfulness, with invariable tolerance, courtesy and kindness. Besides I had the honour of learning as a raw recruit under him to fight for the cause of Chinese civilisation. He was the best and most representative man of the Chinese Oxford Movement and the last of the great Chinese literati. When I last saw him in Peking, two years ago, he told me he was in utter despair. I tried to reassure him and said I was sure in the end we will win. But he shook his head. I had hoped to be able to fight again directly under his command. But now while the issue of the battle is still uncertain, our chief is dead. "*Ave atque Vale!*"



APPENDIX I.

THE LATE EMPRESS-DOWAGER.

To the Editor of the

"NORTH-CHINA DAILY NEWS."

SIR,

The articles and notices which have appeared in the *N.-C. Daily News* on the recent sad events in this country have been, it seems to me, so unsympathetic, and in the case of H. I. M. the late Empress-Dowager, so hostile and harsh that I feel myself obliged to protest against them. A professor of natural history, describing an interesting specimen of some ferocious animal, could not have written with less feeling than you have done when giving an account of the life and career of the late Empress-Dowager. I have no wish here to dispute your right to form and express your opinion of her character; what I complain of is the tone of your articles. I would ask—is it decent at a time of national mourning in this country for a foreign newspaper published in China to rake up unauthenticated stories of cruelties, murder and atrocities, which idle rumour and gossip have imputed to the Imperial Lady who was but a few days ago the First Lady of the land where foreigners are living as privileged guests?

I have no desire—nor is this the time and place—to argue with you as to the real character of the late Empress-Dowager. My own deliberate opinion on that subject I have already expressed in a poor little book, to which you have done me the honour to refer your readers.

To foreigners who have made up their minds that the late Empress-Dowager was an ambitious, wicked and cruel woman, I have nothing to say except to repeat with compassionate sorrow the words of the Gospel: *Moriemini in peccatis vestris* (you shall die in your sins). But to other foreigners who have not so made up their minds, I would like, with your permission, to offer a few considerations which may enable them to form a juster estimate of her character than you have done.

The first thing I wish to say is that with all deference to you, the controlling motive in the life of the late Empress-Dowager was not, as the life motive of all great characters in history never was—vulgar ambition. Carlyle speaking of ambition in connexion with his hero, Cromwell, said: "The flunkies in their abject flunkeyhood think what a fine thing it is to have people carrying bundles of paper tied with red tape coming every day to see you." In the case of the Empress-Dowager in China, besides the pleasure of having to be bothered with people carrying bundles of paper tied up in red or yellow tape the additional benefit she gets from the realization of her ambition is the delightful pleasure of having to get up summer and winter every day at half past four o'clock in the morning. Besides, not like a New York society woman, she has not even the compensation of seeing her name blazoned forth and her lavish banquets described in a hundred morning papers. A woman who would be ambitious at such a cost and with such poor reward, must be a very singularly vulgar and stupid woman. But say what you like, the late Empress-Dowager was not a vulgar and stupid woman.

Now, if ambition was not, what was her controlling motive in life? In order to answer this question let me describe a scene told me by a friend, which took place in

the Palace Council Chamber in Peking, just before the outbreak of the Franco-Chinese war. The late Empress-Dowager who had all along been siding with Li Hung-chang for peace at any price, on hearing the news of the French bombardment at Foochow, immediately summoned all the State Ministers to her presence. The Ministers all to one man declared for war. The Empress-Dowager, pointing to the then boy Emperor, said to the Ministers: "When your Emperor there grows up to be a man and I am dead, then he may, if he likes, throw away the heritage of his ancestors. But as long as I am alive, I shall never allow it to be said that a woman threw away the heritage of her ancestors left to her keeping for the little boy."

This then, I say, was the controlling motive in the life of the late Empress-Dowager, to devote herself late and early to preserving as intact and unimpaired as possible the Imperial heritage of the House left to her charge. According to the code of morals in China, the essential duty of a woman is not to live solely for her husband, her essential duty is to care for the name and heritage of the family. The controlling motive in the life of the late Empress-Dowager, I say, therefore, was a single-minded devotion to the essential duty of a woman according to the code of morals in China. When on her death bed, after fifty years of her matriarchate, she had the satisfaction of being able to say in her valedictory decree: "We have shown ourselves not unworthy of our trust," it was not an empty boast. "The highest form of filial piety," according to Confucius, "is to carry out the unfinished work of our forefathers and to transmit their achievements to posterity," and this the late Empress-Dowager has done. To sum up in one word, the controlling motive in her life was not ambition, but duty.

The next thing I wish to speak of is her ability. The greatness of the late Empress-Dowager's ability consisted in her ability not to trust to her own cleverness, but to make use of other people's abilities. In the treatise on high education (known to foreigners as the Great Learning), the highest ideal statesman is thus described: "Let me have," said the Duke of T'sin, "a plain and simple man as my minister, who has absolutely no other qualification except a free and open mind and a broad and catholic spirit, who regards others possessing abilities as though he himself possessed them and in his heart takes delight in the superior intelligence of others as if it were his own. A man who has such a catholic spirit and magnanimous soul will be able to protect my children and grandchildren, the black-haired race, and other benefits may well be looked for from such a man."

Now the secret of the success of the late Empress-Dowager's able statesmanship, lay even here, in the broadness and catholicity of her mind and the magnanimity of her soul. She was never an autocrat in the sense of *voluntas regis, suprema lex*. With her it was always, *judicium in concilio regis, suprema lex*—the supreme law was the combined wisdom of her council. In fact, during the fifty years of her rule, the government in China was not the government by one man, but a government by Council with herself at the head, more as a moderating, regulating and inspiring than a guiding spirit.

To sum up in one word the greatness of her intellect comes from the greatness of her character, the greatness of her soul.

I now wish to speak of her tastes. The simple answer to the extravagant stories of lavish banquets and the traditional gorgeous adornments of Oriental despots

of your fertile imagination, is that the late Empress-Dowager was a person of exquisite and perfect good taste. A person of really artistic taste can never be lavish in eating and will never put up with gorgeous adornments. The imperious dictates of an artistic taste are a severer discipline more forcible than the injunctions or precepts of religion against tasteless expenditure and gorgeous adornments. I have myself been inside the Summer Palace, inspected her private apartments and even tasted the food that she had partaken of. From what I saw and heard in the Palace, she might even be considered an adherent of the simple life. The only things I saw in her apartments which could in any way be considered as gorgeous adornments were pyramids of rosy-cheeked apples. I was told by the people in the Palace that in one thing only she really indulged herself rather excessively, that was in flowers, the planting and growing of *peony* flowers. I may incidentally here mention that a book I saw lying open on her table was a new and recent edition with notes of the *shu ching*, the Confucian canon of history, containing the maxims of government by the sages of China. When I visited the Palace, the Empress-Dowager was in her sixty-ninth year and yet she was still trying to learn how to give good government to her people.

It is true that the building of the Summer Palace with every possible beautification cost an immense sum of money.

Mair, en rendant son peuple heareux, il faut bien qu'un roi vive.

Besides let it be remembered, when the late Empress-Dowager began spend the money to build her Palace, she had already worked hard to earn it. After the toil and anxiety of thirty years transforming the anarchy and

misery of the China of the T'ai'ping day to the comparatively prosperous China of the time when she handed over the reins of government to her nephew Emperor, was it such an extravagant thing for her to ask of her people, the people of the great Chinese Empire, to build for their Empress a worthy and dignified home wherein to pass the rest of her days? In fact, I once told Sir Robert Hart to his face when he and Dr. Morrison were enlarging to me upon the extravagance of the Empress-Dowager, that considering the relative stations of their lives, he, Sir Robert Hart, with his brass band, etc., in my opinion, lived in a style far more extravagant than the Empress-Dowager.

The last thing I want to speak about is her family relations. Against your unauthenticated insinuation of the mysterious death of her own son, the late Emperor T'ungchi, and the scarcely disputed fact that the Empress-Dowager was responsible for the death of the Empress Ahlute, I will only on behalf of Her Imperial Majesty reply in the words of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette who, when similar atrocious accusations were made against her, calmly replied "I appeal to all the mothers of the world." The stories of the "bitter winter night" and the dramatic addition "the child wept," can easily be shown to be pure myths. For if it was true that a plot was on foot to raise a son of Prince Kung to the Throne, how was it possible, I would ask, that the old Prince Kung was found to be still in high favour long after the accession of the late Emperor Kuang Hsü? If there had been such a plot, the son of the old Prince Kung would not now be kicking his legs full of life as I saw him do at the British Legation last year.

I come now to the last thing I want to say—her relation with her nephew, the late Emperor Kuang Hsü.

It has been arraigned against her that when her son died, instead of allowing the succession to go in due course, she adopted a baby Emperor of the same generation as her son in order that she might remain Regent, because she was ambitious and wanted power. Now was there anything very wrong in this? Remember that the China then as well as of the present day was entirely her work. When she was first called upon to take charge of the Imperial heritage, the Chinese Empire, that Chinese Empire was not only a mass of anarchy, chaos, misery, but that Empire was nearly being lost to the Imperial House. After over twenty years of hard work, she had not only completely recovered the possession of the Imperial heritage, but had transformed it from anarchy, chaos and misery to order, good government and even prosperity. Do you think she would be justified, with her eyes open, to run the risk of having all her work of twenty years undone and the Imperial heritage again wrecked, ruined, and perhaps lost for ever? No—she had too high a sense of duty—the duty of a woman according to the Chinese code to care for the name and heritage of the family.

It was also this high sense of duty and responsibility to the Imperial House that made her so angry with her nephew, the late Emperor Kuang Hsü. Her anger was not the result of personal spite. Her anger arose from her sense of duty. She had devoted her whole life to preserve the ancestral heritage and had chosen him with the full hope that he would be worthy of the sacrifice she had made to preserve the heritage for him. But he had not only disappointed her hopes, he was even guilty of lightly trying to wreck her work and throw the heritage away. She had during these last few years still hoped against hope that he might still be worthy of her choice

even to the last moment. But when she saw him dead, him the chosen foster-child of her early widowhood upon whom she centred all her hopes, dead before her—the light of her life suddenly went out. The poor unhappy child was dead, what could then the still unhappier mother do but follow him immediately to his grave.

Heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris. Manibus date lilia plenis
Purpureos spargam flores.

I am, etc.,

KU HUNG-MING.

November, 1911.

APPENDIX II.

THE EMPRESS-DOWAGER

AN APPRECIATION.

Review by K. H. M., OF "TWO YEARS IN THE FORBIDDEN CITY. By Princess Der Ling.

JUST at this moment, when the whole world is looking upon the tragedy of the passing of the Manchu Power in China, this book written by an up-to-date modernised Manchu lady giving first hand pictures of the Manchu court and Manchu high society, is of the greatest interest. Messrs. Bland and Backhouse's book is said to be an epoch-making book. But in my opinion this book without any literary pretension, is a much better book to give the world a true idea of what kind of people the Manchus (especially the last noble Great Manchu Woman) are, than the other famous book. It is true there are more valuable material in Messrs. Bland and Backhouse's book. But all the valuable materials in that book are utterly spoilt by too much cleverness—the cleverness of men with diseased modern intellects. Mencius says: "What I hate in your clever men is that they always distort things." (Book IV Part II, 26.) Messrs. Bland and Backhouse's book is a good illustration of this, showing how far the art of historical distortion can be carried. The late Empress-Dowager, it is admitted, was a great woman and all great men and women have this one essential quality in common,—a simple nature. Mencius says: "If you want

to be a great man, you must not lose your simple child-heart." Metternich, in his memoirs, speaks of the great simplicity of Napoleon's intellect. But the Empress-Dowager was not only a great woman; she was also a Manchu. The Manchus, as I have said elsewhere, even now with all their faults, are a people without guile; a people with great simple mindedness. Therefore, if ever there was a great souled woman with a simple child nature, it was the late Empress-Dowager. But instead of a woman with a simple nature, Messrs. Bland and Backhouse have given us an overcharged, lurid picture of a complex abnormal super-woman, and the modern public with their depraved taste for everything sensational, abnormal and monstrous, all say: "What a wonderful picture!"

The authoress of the present volume is also a modern young lady, but fortunately she is not too clever. Probaby her Manchu guileless nature has saved her from being too clever. It is true, like all men and women with modern education who write on China; she too has "progress and reform" like a tape worm in the brain. On her way to her first audience with the Empress-Dowager, she says: "We were told that probably we would be asked to stay at the Court, and I thought that if that came to pass, I would possibly be able to influence Her Majesty for reform and so be of valuable assistance to China." The most complicated machinery of a great Empire had gone out of order, and this bread-and-butter Miss, with her simple Manchu child nature, believed that she could help to mend it!

The central figure in the book is, of course, the late Empress-Dowager. Her picture as painted here is a very plain and simple picture, and because it is plain and

simple it is a true protrait and not a distorted caricature like Messrs. Bland and Backhouse's lurid oil painting. The authoress thus describes her first audiences: "At the door we met a lady, the young Empress, wife of the Emperor Kwang Hsū. She said: 'Her Majesty has sent me to meet you.' Then we heard a loud voice from the Hall saying: 'Tell them to come in at once.' We went into the Hall immediately and saw an old lady in a beautiful satin gown embroidered over with pink peonies and wearing a head dress with flowers on each side made of pearls and jade, a pearl tassel on the left side and a beautiful phoenix in the centre made of the purest jade.

"Her Majesty stood up when she saw us and shook hands with us. She had a most fascinating smile and was very much surprised that we knew the Court etiquette so well. After she had greeted us, she said to my mother, 'You t'ai t'ai (Lady Yu), you are a wonder the way you have brought your daughters up. They speak Chinese as well as I do, although I know they have been abroad for so many years, and how is it that they have such beautiful manners?' 'Their father was always very strict with them,' my mother replied; 'he made them study their own language first and they had to study very hard.' 'I am pleased to hear their father has been so careful with them,' Her Majesty said, 'and given them such a fine education.' She took my hands and looked into my face and smiled and kissed me on both cheeks and said to my mother: 'I wish to have your daughters and hope they will stay with me.'"

All this reads like the first meeting of the old grandmothers in the Hunglou Meng (Dream of the Red Chamber) with the beautiful Lin Tai-yu. Is the picture here of the old lady dressed in a beautiful satin gown

with a most fascinating smile who looks into the face of a child and kisses her on both cheeks,—anything like Messrs. Bland and Backhouse's clever, superb, malignant Super-woman?

Messrs. Bland and Backhouse have spoken of the orgies in the Palace. Here, then, is a description of one of these awful orgies:—

“Her Majesty walked along a little way, then laughed and said to me: ‘Don’t I look more comfortable now? I am going for a long walk and take lunch on the top of the hill. There is a nice place up there and I am sure you will like it. Come, let us go.’

“Her Majesty was a very fast walker and we had to step lively to keep up with her. The eunuchs and servant girls walked on the right side and only one of the eunuchs was allowed to walk behind us, and he was the one who carried Her Majesty's yellow satin stool, which, like her dog, went everywhere she did. This stool she used to rest on when taking a walk. We walked for quite a long while and I began to feel tired, but Her Majesty, old as she was, was still walking very fast and did not appear to be the least bit tired.

“We finally arrived at the place where the marble boat was kept. After we had been standing there a few minutes, a eunuch who had been carrying the satin stool, came forward and Her Majesty sat down to rest. While we were talking, I noticed two large and very fancy-looking boats approaching us, with several smaller ones coming along behind. Her Majesty said: ‘There are the boats. We must go over to the west side of the lake and have luncheon.’ Her Majesty got up and walked to the edge of the lake, two eunuchs supporting her, one on

each side. She stepped into the boat and we all followed her example. Her Majesty sat on her throne and ordered us to sit on the floor. The eunuchs brought in red satin cushions for us to sit upon. Her Majesty noticed how very uncomfortable we were with our foreign dress sitting on the floor. She said: 'You can stand up if you want to and just watch those boats following us.' I put my head out of the window and noticed the young Empress and several other court ladies were in the other boat. They waved to me and I waved back. Her Majesty laughed and said to me: 'I give you this apple to throw to them.' While saying this she took one from the big plates that stood upon the centre table. I tried very hard, but the apple did not reach the other boat, but went to the bottom of the lake. Her Majesty laughed and told me to try again, but I failed. Finally she took one and threw it herself. It went straight to the other boat and hit one of the ladies' heads. We all laughed quite heartily."

Matthew Arnold, speaking of Homer's poetry, says: "Homer is simple and Homer is noble." One can say the same thing of the late Empress-Dowager. She was simple and she was noble. In the above two extracts which I have given, as indeed throughout the whole book, the one trait,—simplicity of nature, not only of the Empress-Dowager, but of the Manchu people, is very well brought out. But, as I said, the Empress-Dowager was not only simple, but she was also noble. This other trait—nobleness, what Matthew Arnold also calls the grand style, in Her Majesty's character, is unfortunately not so evident in this book. In the following passage, however, the reader can see something of the grand style in this great, noble woman. In connection with the

subject of painting Her Majesty's portrait by an American lady artist, the authoress says: "The next morning I received a letter from Mrs. Conger begging me not to prejudice Her Majesty against Miss Carl (the lady artist) in any way. I translated this to Her Majesty and it made her furious. She said: 'No one has any right to write to you in such a way. How dare she suggest you would say anything against Miss Carl? When you reply, write and inform her that it is not customary for any Court ladies to try and influence Her Majesty in this country and that, in addition, you (as a Manchu lady) are not so mean as to say anything against anybody behind their back!'" Here, again, is another passage which will give some idea of what I meant when I said that the late Empress-Dowager was not only simple, but noble. The Court was removing from the Summer Palace to the Sea Palace inside the Imperial city. The authoress says: "At six o'clock the whole Court left the Summer Palace. It was snowing heavily. Many of the horses fell on the slippery stones and one of Her Majesty's chair bearers also slipped and brought Her Majesty to the ground. All of a sudden I thought something dreadful has happened, horses galloping and eunuchs howling 'stop! stop!' The whole procession stopped and blocked the way. Finally we saw that Her Majesty's chair was resting on the ground, so we all alighted and went forward to see what had happened. I immediately went to her chair and found her sitting there composedly giving orders to the Chief Eunuch not to punish the chair bearer, for he was not to blame, the stones being wet and very slippery." Napoleon, when some court ladies with whom he was walking shouted to two soldiers carrying a heavy load to get out of the great Emperor's way, said to these ladies: "Mesdames, respect the burden." To be a great man,

one must be noble, and a man or woman is noble when he or she understands these noble words of Napoleon: "Respect the burden."

I have in my book said that the Empress-Dowager as a Manchu with her noble Manchu instincts had no great love for the methods of European civilisation. Here is her opinion of European dress. The authoress showed Her Majesty a portrait of herself in European evening dress. Her Majesty said: "What a funny dress you are wearing in this picture. Why are your arms and neck all bare? I have heard that foreign ladies wear their dresses without sleeves and without collars, but I had no idea that it was so bad and ugly as the dress you are wearing here. I cannot imagine how you could do it. I should have thought you would have been ashamed to expose yourself in that manner. Don't wear any more such dresses, please. It has quite shocked me. What a funny kind of civilisation this is, to be sure. Is this dress only worn on certain occasions or is it worn any time, even when gentlemen are present?" The authoress explained that it was the usual evening dress for ladies. Her Majesty laughed and exclaimed: "This is getting worse and worse. Everything seems to go backwards in foreign countries. Here we don't expose even our wrists when in the company of gentlemen, but foreigners seem to have quite different ideas on the subject. The Emperor (Kwang Hsü) is always talking about reform, but if this is a sample we had much better remain as we are."

Now, if the above is Her Majesty's opinion of European dress, here is her opinion of European manners. "The Empress-Dowager told me what a nice, polite lady Mdme. Plancon (the Russian minister's wife) was, that she had seen many (European) ladies who had come to

the Court, but none with manners like this one, that she was sorry to say that some of the ladies who came did not behave very well. She said: 'They seem to think we are only Chinese and look down upon us. I notice these things very quickly and am surprised to see people who claim to be well educated and civilised acting the way they do. I think we, whom they call barbarians, are much more civilised and have better manners.'" Now if there is one thing about the Manchu Court and Manchu society which this book brings into clear prominence more than anything else, it is that everybody in that society has beautiful manners. Even the dreadful ogre in Messrs. Bland and Backhouse's book, Li Lien Ying, the Chief Eunuch, although very ugly, very old and full of wrinkles had beautiful manners. Out of the strong, come forth the sweet. Beautiful manners are the manifestation and sure evidence of the soundness of a man's moral nature. I know whatever I may say on behalf of the Manchus at this moment will not be listened to. But yet I will venture to say here that the silent dignity with which these true noble men in China—a handful of men against a whole nation—have submitted to the inevitable, should inspire some respect for them in this their hour of discomfiture and humiliation. Against the campaign of calumny, villification and foul abuse, they have not retaliated with one single undignified word.

I have said that the late Empress-Dowager was simple and noble. But she was more than this: she was also a great woman. The following extract gives the source from which she drew her power and became a great woman. The authoress says: "This—the seventh moon—was always a sad moon for Her Majesty, it being the anniversary of the death of her husband, the Emperor

Hsien Feng, who died on the 18th of that month. On the morning of the seventeenth day Her Majesty visited the room where the late Emperor's tablet was kept and knelt there crying for quite a while. In order to show respect for the late Emperor, none of us were allowed to eat meat for three days. As I was her favourite at that time, she kept me close to her side during this sad period and I was so miserable myself that when Her Majesty commenced crying, I would cry also. When she saw that I was crying, Her Majesty would immediately stop and ask me not to cry. She would tell me that I was too young to cry and that in any case I did not know what real sorrow was as yet. During the conversations we had at that time she would tell me quite a lot about herself. On one occasion she said 'You know I have had a very hard life ever since I was a young girl. I was not a bit happy when with my parents. When I first came to the Court, a lot of the people were jealous of me. Fortunately I was lucky in giving birth to a son; but after that I had very bad luck. During the last year of his reign the Emperor was seized with a sudden illness. In addition to this the foreign troops burnt down the Palace at Yuan Ming Yuan, so we fled to Jehol. Of course everybody knows what took place at that time. I was still a young woman with a dying husband and a young son. When the Emperor was in a dying condition, I took my son to his bedside and said to him, "Here is your son," on hearing which he immediately opened his eyes and said: "Of course he will succeed to the Throne." "I thought I could be happy with my son, the Emperor Tung Chih, but unfortunately he died before he was twenty years of age. Since that time, I have been a changed woman, as all happiness was over as far as I was concerned when he died. In addition to all this,

when the Emperor Kwang Hsü was brought to me as a baby, three years old, he was a very sickly child. You know that his father was Prince Chun, and his mother was my sister, so of course he was almost the same as my own son ; in fact I adopted him as such. Even now, after all my trouble on his account, he is not in perfect health. As you know, I have had plenty of troubles beside these. I am disappointed with everything, as nothing has turned out as I had expected.' With this remark Her Majesty commenced crying again. Continuing she said : ' People seem to think that because I am the Empress-Dowager, I am bound to be happy, but what I have just told you is not all. However I am philosopher enough to take things for what they are worth, otherwise I would have been in my own grave long, long ago.' "

Who never ate his bread with tears,
Never sat through the still night hours,
Weeping until the morn appears—
He knows you not, ye heavenly Powers.

We can see now in what school this simple and noble Manchu woman learnt to be a great Ruler, who for more than fifty years held this vast distracted Empire together. Mencius says : " When Heaven is about to confer a great office upon a man, it always first exercises his mind and soul with suffering and his sinews and bones with toil. It exposes his body to hunger and subjects him to extreme poverty. It confounds all his undertakings. By all these things it stimulates his mind, hardens his nature and enables him to do things which he otherwise would not have been able to do."

I will now conclude with just one more extract. We have already seen the Empress Consort of the late Emperor Kwang Hsü,—now the Empress-Dowager Lung Yu, who came to meet the authoress at her first audience. She then appeared "very polite and sweet and had beautiful

manners, but was not very pretty." Here is another scene where she appears. The authoress amidst the Court ladies was talking and answering questions. A young Princess, fourth daughter of Prince Ching, among other silly things, said: "Is there a King in England? I had thought that our Empress-Dowager was Queen of the whole world?" After numerous questions had been asked the young Empress finally spoke and said: "How ignorant you are! I know that each country has its ruler and some countries are republics. The United States is a republic and very friendly to us, but I am sorry that such a common class of our people go there, as they will think we are all the same. What I would like to see is that some of our good Manchu people go, as then they would see what we really are."

What the then young Empress, now Empress-Dowager Lung Yu, says she wishes to see,—is really the one first great Reform which China is urgently in need of, above all others. The greatest misfortune of the Chinese is that they are not known. Again, it is because the people of Europe and America do not know what we really are that they,—to use the words of the late Empress-Dowager—think we are only Chinese and look down upon us. This attitude of the people of Europe and America is the real source of the anti-foreign feeling in China which exploded in the Boxer outbreak in 1900. As the Boxer explosion was a revolt against foreigners for thinking we are only Chinese and looking down upon us, so the present revolution is a revolt of the people against the Government for allowing foreigners to treat us like that. The present revolution is not a revolt against a corrupt government, but a revolt against the weakness of the government—against a weak

government. The real motive of the revolution is not hatred of the Manchus. The motive which gives power—fanatical power—to the revolution is an intense feeling of humiliation at being looked down upon by foreigners. The fanatics of this New Learning Boxer movement imagine that the reason why foreigners think we are only Chinese and look down upon us is because we have the queue, and because the Manchus are responsible for this badge of contempt to foreigners these fanatics hate the Manchus and insist upon getting rid of everything Manchu in China. There is, as the clever Putnam Weale truly says, a world of pathos in the present queue-cutting revolution. In short, as the Boxer outbreak in 1900 was a fanatical explosion of hurt National pride, so the present revolution is a fanatical outburst of national vanity. But here is where these fanatics will very soon find out their terrible mistake. Foreigners will not respect us more, will not cease to think we are only Chinese, simply because we have cut off our queues and put on European clothes. I am perfectly certain the people of Europe and America will respect us *less* when we cease to be Chinese and become *imitation Europeans*. The people of Europe and America will respect us and cease to think we are only Chinese—only when they know what we Chinese really are—a people with a somewhat different but as wonderful a civilisation as theirs and not a whit inferior. The one reform therefore which China needs above all others, is not queue-cutting or constitution-making but really what the Empress-Dowager Lung Yu says she wishes to see,—to send our good people—the best of the Chinese—to show the people of Europe and America what we are. In short, it is by joining the best with best that we can ever hope to break down the dividing line of East and West.

The German people to-day dearly cherish the beloved memory of the ill-fated noble Queen Louise of Prussia. I believe a time will come when we Chinese will as dearly cherish the memory of our Empress Lung Yu. The Hohenzollern House in Germany in the beginning of the last century, when under the heels of Napoleon Buonaparte, was looked down upon by the whole world with pity and scorn in the same way as the Imperial House of Aishin Ghioro now is abused and villified by the English newspapers. But the sufferings of the noble Prussian Queen who, it is said, in her hour of desolation repeated to herself again and again the soul purifying words of Goethe which I have quoted above,

Who never ate his bread with tears,
—the sufferings of the noble Queen so touched the hearts of the whole German people that they not only rose up as a nation and put an end to Napoleon Buonaparte, but eventually thereby became a united people of a great Empire. Who knows but that the present sufferings of our Empress Lung Yu may not also touch the hearts of the now dumb and silent four hundred millions of this great Empire so that they too will rise up and, putting their veto and foot down upon the present revolutionary madness, eventually, still under the now overshadowed Imperial House, create a new, purified modern China. What the German poet says of the noble Prussian Queen, we Chinese then will say of the cruelly-betrayed and forsaken Imperial Lady now in Peking—

Thou art a star, which with full radiance shines,
Erst when the dark storm clouds have passed away.



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